THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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The Soldiers Do Well

Remarkably good news came from the fighting fronts during the week ending January 24. The new Allied landing on the Italian coast just below Rome was a triumph of strategy. The Germans were caught completely off guard and Rome was put in immediate peril of capture. The whole Italian situation is thus changed in a lightning stroke, very much for the better. In Russia, the new drives around Leningrad met with marked initial success, though not so much as the American press suggests, with its incorrigible habit of claiming "half a million Germans trapped" every other day. In Burma, Lord Louis Mountbatten's new drive to capture Akyab is slogging ahead with little publicity but good initial success. The Americans bombed the Kurile Islands, northeast of Japan, several times in quick succession, suggesting that important operations may be coming in that part of the world, operations based upon the Aleutians. Meanwhile, the bombing of Germany and the satellite and occupied countries continued and is undoubtedly doing serious if not fatal damage.

What Policy Toward Franco?

United Nations policy toward Spain seems to be more tangled than ever. Soviet Russia, always bitterly opposed to the Franco dictatorship, has recently reported with indignation that Spanish troops are still fighting in Russia as part of the German army. The British government has on two occasions angrily denounced the un-neutral attitude of Franco. Yet the American State Department, in one of its propaganda broadcasts on January 22, presented an elaborate defense of our policy of aiding Franco, based on the assumption that he is neutral in the war. To confound confusion still farther, there are reports in Washington that American Ambassador Carlton Hayes has swung around to an attitude of opposition to Franco and is recommending that we take economic sanctions against him; while Sir Samuel Hoare, the British Ambassador, is notoriously a great friend of Franco and an apologist for Spanish fascism. Whatever the American State Department, so full of curious people holding curious views, may think, common-sense Americans know that Franco is at heart 100-percent pro-Nazi; that he pretends to be neutral only because he has finally decided the Allies will probably win the war, and that the best and indeed the only sensible policy for us would be to get tough and stay tough with him.

Mr. Stimson and War Sacrifice

Seldom have we seen wise and unwise counsel more inextricably intermingled than they were in Secretary Stimson's argument in favor of a national-service act. Mr. Stimson has a lifelong record of native and incorruptible honesty which no one can question. He is quite right when he says that the American people ought to share equally in the burden of the war. When, however, he recommends the national-service act unaccompanied by the other provisions which President Roosevelt demanded for holding down prices and keeping the national economy in balance, Secretary Stimson is not urging uniform national sacrifice. He is demanding class legislation against the man in overalls. Already in this war we have seen too much of this

CONTENTS

The Week 131
Editorials
A Fourth Term with Whom? 134
The Great Pravda Mystery 135
Watch Governor Dewey 136
General Articles
The Polish Frontier . Frederick L. Schuman 138
Nazism in Latin America . . Helen Fuller 141
Hague Is the Law . . . Willard Wiener 144
Magician (verse) . . . . . Karl Shapiro 146
Washington Notes . . . . . T. R. B. 147
Digges and Anderson . . . . Stark Young 148
The Bandwagon 148
Correspondence 149
Books in Review
The Führer's Followers . . Malcolm Cowley 153
The Ill and Ailing . . . . Mark Schorer 154
83-Year Tantrum . . . . Manny Farber 155
War and Politics . . . Heinz H. F. Eulau 157
A Reader's List 158

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sort of thing. Everyone knows that corporation profits are enormous, and are not sopped up by the excess-profits tax. Everyone knows that Congress is shirking its duty by refusing to impose adequate taxation. Inflation is not merely a threat: it is already here, and it is putting an invisible hand into the pay envelope of every American worker. Mr. Stimson, honest and sincere as he undoubtedly is, does not yet seem to understand fully what this war is about.

Get the Wounded Out of Sight

I. F. Stone, writing in PM, reveals a curious and disturbing story. Last September, the War Department took over as a soldiers' hospital the Breakers Hotel in Palm Beach, Florida. It has spent $300,000 on remodeling, and 800 soldier patients are now receiving care there. A few days ago Lt.-Gen. Brehon Somervell, without consulting the Surgeon General, turned the hotel back to its owners, as of March 31. The patients will be sent to a camp somewhere in Indiana. With all respect to Indiana, a state which we know and love, it is a much less desirable place for recuperation, especially in winter, than is Palm Beach. Apparently some of the rich inhabitants of Palm Beach (though not all) objected to the presence of wounded soldiers in their playground. So did the business men of West Palm Beach. According to Mr. Stone, so did Sen. Charles O. Andrews and Rep. Pat Cannon. General Somervell obliged all these people, and closed the hospital.

Relations with Russia

Dr. Frederick Schuman performs a useful service, in his article on page 138 of this issue, by reminding us of some half-forgotten facts about Poland's eastern boundary. In 1918 and thereafter, the United States and Great Britain were strongly opposed to letting Poland keep the territory she now claims. Moreover, when she had it, between 1920 and 1939, her mistreatment of the peasant population was infamous around the world. Ethnographically, Polish statistics substantiate the Russian claim to the territory. Historically, the argument is no better on one side than on the other. Neither the British government nor the Atlantic Charter has made promises incompatible with giving this territory to the Russians (who in any case are conquering it now by force of arms, and mean to keep it).

As we point out in our editorial in this issue on "The Great Pravda Mystery," maintaining cordial relations among the United States, Great Britain and Russia is no easy matter. Probably the worst single element is the anti-Russian press in the United States, especially W. R. Hearst and the McCormick-Patterson papers, whose owners cheerfully make trouble without ever thinking of how many other Americans' sons might die in the war they so blithely foment. For the rest of us, it is worth remembering that there are no conflicts with Russia that are not capable of peaceful solution, that present troubles are mostly the result of our own past mistakes, and that you don't end up with good will if you start out with hatred.

Justice, California Style

"The Sleepy Lagoon Murder Case" may sound to you like the title of a mystery novel; but it is not; it is the name given to what looks like an outrageous miscarriage of justice in California, as a result of which twelve young Mexicans are serving long prison sentences, apparently on the chief or sole ground that they are of Mexican ancestry.

Late one night, a year ago last August, a group of Mexican boys and girls tried to "crash a party" at a farmhouse in the outskirts of Los Angeles, near a small body of water known as the Sleepy Lagoon. Those already present objected, and the intruders were driven away. The party seems to have been a wild one; earlier in the evening, a brawl had been witnessed, and several individuals had been forcibly ejected.

At dawn next morning one of the men at the party, José Díaz, was found unconscious in the road nearby. He was taken to a hospital, where he died. Thereupon the police arrested twenty-two boys, members of the group that had tried unsuccessfully to crash the party. They were tried together, and received the following verdicts: Five were acquitted; five got six months in jail; nine got five years to life, and three got life imprisonment.

A Trial without Evidence

There was of course no real evidence that a crime had been committed at all. The dead man might have fallen and struck his head on a stone, or he might have been run over accidentally by an automobile. Assuming that he had been murdered, there is no evidence that any of these seventeen Mexican boys was in any way connected with it. He might have been killed by a complete stranger, or by one of the other guests at the party, who had been brawling among themselves. And even if some one of the group of defendants had killed him, there was no evidence connecting the other sixteen with the case.

A group of California citizens, organized into the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee, has investigated the case carefully and now makes the following charges:

> That the defendants were tried in the midst of bitter and unjustified anti-Mexican hostility by the Los Angeles community, hostility which was exemplified by the zoot-suit riots.
>
> That the defendants were unmercifully beaten by the police and that "confessions" were extorted from them by torture.

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That the presiding judge referred to the defendants in court as "a gang," and drew a parallel with the notorious Chicago gangs of prohibition days.

That the defendants were not allowed to consult their counsel during the trial, or even when the court was in recess.

That in order to make them look as disreputable as possible in court, the defendants were not allowed to get their hair cut or to change their clothing.

That the trial was conducted, at least partly, on a basis of Hitlerian ideas of race superiority. Thus one E. D. Ayres, of the Foreign Relations Bureau of the sheriff's office, was permitted to file a statement embracing the Nazi doctrine of Aryan supremacy. The prosecuting attorney argued, in effect, that all Mexicans are cowards and do not fight fairly. The district attorney, after refusing to permit the boys to get their hair cut, called attention in court to their disreputable appearance, which he associated with their race.

That the presiding judge repeatedly ruled against the defense and in favor of the prosecution on the same points.

Twelve of the defendants are now in San Quentin, where they have made remarkably fine records as model prisoners. Only one of them, at the time of the trial, was as old as twenty-one.

Probably the citizens of Los Angeles who participated in this affair consider themselves good Americans who are loyally supporting the national war effort. In fact, however, they have done the war effort substantial harm—far greater harm than is offset by their purchases of war bonds and other patriotic activity. They have given the Axis radio a juicy bit of propaganda material, which our enemies have skillfully used. And they have gravely impaired United States relations with Mexico, and indeed with all of Latin America, at a moment when coöperation is of great importance.

The defense committee that is trying to see justice done in this case is short of funds. Contributions may be sent to Carey McWilliams, National Chairman, 902 Spring Arcade Building, Los Angeles, 13, California.

Race Friction in Missouri

Racial bigotry, flaming across the hills of Butler County, on the edge of the Missouri boot-heel, has set fire to the schools. When two farmers, in need of labor for valuable crops, imported a total of five Negro families into Ash Hill, a lily-white township, a mob of neighbors drove out the newcomers. The grand jury brought in indictments of kidnaping and illegal assembly to incite riot. This week the indicted men met, with a minister presiding, and decided to protest by refusing to sign bond. The sheriff parceled out 70 men to the jails of 5 counties. After a jovial night of song the protesters did sign, and were greeted as heroes by a picnic crowd on the jail lawn.

A school principal, son of the farmer who had imported four of the Negro families, was threatened with lynching by the boys of his school, as was his wife, a teacher. After some days of receiving obscene warnings both from Missouri and Illinois, mostly by mail, they resigned. The man who imported the fifth Negro family—a family with a son in our armed forces—is married to a teacher who now must walk several miles to and from school, for the bus-driver refuses to let her ride.

This is folk fascism, not the official variety. When the flames leaped from jail to schoolhouse, four school-board members attempted to defend the principal, but they themselves had been among the jovial men who were jailed, and their folk actions had more influence than their official arguments. The sheriff continues courageous; the FBI is investigating; but meanwhile the sinister spirit in Ash Hill Township aids our enemies and attacks democracy in its traditional stronghold.

That Man Is Here Again

Washington knew that the Christmas holidays were officially at an end when the incredible Howard W. Smith, Representative from Virginia, started throwing his weight around again. The Hon. Mr. Smith must have kept on scheming against the administration even while he chewed his Christmas turkey, for almost as soon as the gavel had fallen for the new session, he turned up, primed with proposals. He used his omnibus Smith Committee, authorized to investigate almost every phase of governmental administration, to hound the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee on a charge of fomenting a strike situation in Philadelphia by requiring the local traction company to employ Negroes. He seized upon the state of inde-

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cision about national-service legislation, which followed the President's message to the new Congress, to introduce an anti-strike bill more drastic than the Smith-Connally Act, designed to deprive striking unions of all the rights won in the years of the New Deal. Smith's colleagues recognized his new proposal as the same old stuff the "gentleman from Virginia" had tried, without success, to put across so many times before. To round out his week, Mr. Smith read a magazine article he did not like. It was a piece by CIO President Philip Murray on "Labor's Political Aims" in the latest issue of The American Magazine. Representative Smith's purpose in drafting his part of the Smith-Connally Act had been to fix things so that labor would be hamstrung in expressing its views at the polls, so he demanded that Attorney General Biddle investigate the CIO Political Action Committee. The dyspeptic Mr. Smith is off to a busy season, even for him.

A Fourth Term with Whom?

THE ONLY STRUGGLE there can be on the Democratic slate for the fall elections—assuming that President Roosevelt decides to run again—is for the vice-presidential nomination. And that has already begun. Last week's Jackson Day dinner in Washington (by the way, why do the Democrats continue this stupid custom of financing the party by virtually assessing office-holders and office-seekers a hundred dollars a head?) was the pay-off on the race for second place on the President's ticket. The klieg lights were focused on Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House. For ever since last July, when the President so successfully dissembled his love and kicked Wallace downstairs in the Jesse Jones affair, there have been unmistakable rumblings of an appeasement offering to the Democratic tories, with Wallace as the sacrificial lamb. And with the Jackson Day dinner the rumblings became thunder-peals, the thunder was interspersed with flashes of lightning, and several deserving Democrats reverentially bared their heads for the lightning to strike.

Although Rayburn's hat has most unmistakably been doffed, there are others who are not unwilling. One is James F. Byrnes, who gave up a life-job as Supreme Court Justice to take the job of tsar of the war economy, and might be willing to give that up to become Vice President. Another is Harry Byrd, that political muscleman of the Southern reactionaries, compared with whom even Bricker looms as a liberal, and Governor Dewey is a radical. A third is Senator Truman of Missouri, one of the few men in Congress whose political stature has steadily grown during the years of the war. This is, at present, the field. And while the race may be said to be Wallace against the field, it seems likely that in the end it will be a close heat between him and Rayburn. An informal, and possibly loaded, polling of the members of the Democratic National Committee (which, by the way, has a new and young chairman who is being built up as another and unsoured Jim Farley) showed a slight margin for Rayburn among those willing to commit themselves; but most of them refused to express an opinion.

Rayburn is being built up as a unity candidate, to heal the breach between the New Deal wing and the tory wing of the party. It has been obvious for over a year that the tory Democrats hold the balance of power in Congress, and that without them any legislative program is like a steer going to slaughter. What can be said of Rayburn is that, for a Southern tory, he is moderate. Never a man for speeches, he has been making them recently, and has played up to the role of the Great Compromiser. One must add that despite his talents the congressional reactionaries have not abated in their fury.

The move to scrap Wallace is tied up with several considerations that weigh heavily in the minds of the politicos. First, there has been since 1940 a general movement to the right on the whole terrain of American thinking, especially in business circles, in Congress and in the press. Second, there has been some response to this in the President's own policies and appointments. Third, there is the calculation that the Republican swing is even farther to the right than had been calculated six months ago, that Willkie is losing ground with the Republican Party leaders, and that they and Dewey are facing each other with open arms all ready for the clinch.

Now here is the reasoning of some of the Democratic politicos. If Willkie were to be the Republican candidate, the Democrats would have to hold on to Wallace, in order to keep Willkie from making inroads into the labor vote. But if Dewey is the Republican candidate, Wallace is no longer indispensable to the Democrats: in fact, their problem then becomes to trim closer to the right, in order not to lose too many reactionary votes, and then Sam Rayburn would be the man.

The fact is that every party tends to nominate the worst man with whom it can hope to win. Put it this way: it takes the best man it must, it takes the worst man it dares. There is a sort of Gresham's Law operating in the contest for the nominations, by which the worse of the possible candidates who might conceivably win tends to drive out the better.

Judged in these terms, Wallace's position would seem to be most insecure. And yet the wisdom of the politicos is not the final wisdom—even in politics. Wallace has not been deflected from his militant democratic position, and he has not stopped fighting. His brief speech at the Jackson Day dinner, flung into the teeth of the assembled office-holders, was a defiant

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assertion that the New Deal was not dead and could not die: that it was the continuing strain of the whole progressive movement in American history.

The biggest force that will be fighting on Wallace's side is the knowledge that the vice-presidency will be even more important in the postwar years than now. There will be difficult problems in our relations with Russia; the whole Latin American situation will be full of dynamite; vigorous action will be needed in the fight for a full-employment economy and the fight against the domestic fascists. Wallace will be needed in all these fights: his presence will be needed, his advice, his active administrative help, and above all his moral force and integrity. Roosevelt might win without Wallace, but in the end the country and the people would lose.

The Great Pravda Mystery

THE SENSATIONAL REPORT from Cairo, published in Pravda, that "two leading British personalities" and German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop had recently met in an Iberian coastal town in order to "clarify the conditions of a separate peace with Germany," has fortunately died the same quick death as the host of similar peace rumors which from time to time pop up in the Allied and neutral press. Nevertheless, in the first few days after its publication the Pravda story gave rise to an amazingly large amount of comment. For it seemed pretty clear that the publication of the Cairo rumor was not a journalistic blunder on Pravda's part. Blunders of such far-reaching importance simply do not occur in the strictly supervised Soviet press, especially not in the official organ of the Communist Party.

Yet the authenticity of the report is questionable. How could Greeks and Yugoslavs in Cairo, credited with the information of the report, possibly know of a secret meeting held on the Iberian Peninsula? The Cairo dateline of the Pravda dispatch is equally doubtful. How could it have ever passed through the stringent British military censorship? If the story actually originated in Cairo, it must have reached Pravda by way of uncensored Soviet diplomatic channels. Hence the assertion of Soviet Vice Foreign Commissar V. G. Dekanozov that the Soviet government had no previous knowledge of the Pravda report does not entirely repudiate the generally accepted interpretation that it represented a move of Soviet diplomacy.

Indeed, there is some circumstantial evidence that the publication of the Cairo report was in line with similar manifestations of Soviet foreign policy. The Soviet press has evinced in recent weeks a certain uneasiness over political developments in Great Britain and the United States which, justifiably or not, recalls the Soviet Union's traditional suspicion of the Western powers. The rebuke administered to Wendell Willkie, for instance, who in an otherwise highly sympathetic article had asked what the Soviet Union intends to do about the political integrity of the small states around its borders, was excessive in proportion to the alleged offense. It betrayed a touchiness, even an inferiority feeling, which can only be understood in terms of the Soviet Union's long-standing sense of isolation in the last two decades and its violent resentment against this outcast status. Moreover, while the question of the second front was presumably settled at Teheran, and while Anglo-American preparations for the invasion in the west have been intensified since the appointment of General Eisenhower as commander-in-chief, the continued delay in the opening of the second front keeps alive Soviet fears and the ingrained mistrust of Anglo-American intentions.

Soviet fears are not just imaginary. The Soviet government is keenly aware of the still very strong forces in Great Britain and the United States which are hostile, outspokenly or surreptitiously, to Soviet-Anglo-American unity. If the supposition is correct that the Pravda report from Cairo was a stroke of Soviet diplomacy, it was undoubtedly meant to be a warning to Great Britain and the United States against jeopardizing Soviet friendship by giving in to these anti-Soviet elements. Even prior to the Pravda report, the Soviet press has repeatedly excoriated American anti-Soviet forces in recent weeks. The authoritative Soviet magazine, War and the Working Class, has frequently slapped at The Chicago Tribune and the reactionary groups for which it speaks. A recent article, for instance, stated that one could believe that The Tribune "is published in a country which is at war against the USSR, not against Germany." Similarly there have appeared in Soviet journals condemnations of the anti-Soviet outbursts of such American trade-union leaders as Mathew Woll and David Dubinsky. The Soviet government is obviously concerned with these anti-Soviet elements. It knows that a change of administration following the election might easily give the reactionary and isolationist anti-Soviet groups the upper hand and thus undermine, if not destroy, the whole structure of Soviet-Anglo-American unity.

The conferences of Moscow and Teheran and the agreements reached there were tremendous steps forward in the direction of coalition war and coalition peace. Unfortunately, the enthusiasm over the newly achieved unity in the weeks immediately following the conferences frequently got the better of a detached and balanced, even though sympathetic, understanding of still existing differences and points of friction. These were often glossed over or taken too lightly. Unity between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-American powers is not something that can be "established" once and for all by a couple of conferences and a number of documents. Unity in international politics, like unity

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at home, is essentially a process, not a static phenomenon, something that must be fought for from day to day by the statesmen as well as by the common people. Unity cannot be achieved without recognition of differences, precisely because it must overcome these differences. We have not yet reached the ideal of "open diplomacy," diplomacy which publicly admits differences as much as agreements. But if the Pravda story was intended to remind the Anglo-American bloc that there are still profound differences in the policies and political objectives of the major Allied powers, it has in fact had a sobering effect. While it was a rather blunt move which temporarily and superficially may seem to be a setback for the unity sought after at Moscow and Teheran, in the long run it may contribute to clearing the air.

This is borne out by the Polish-Soviet boundary dispute. It was apparently not a historical accident that the Pravda story synchronized with the Soviet government's refusal to deal with the Polish Government-in-Exile. We do not know whether the statesmen in London and Washington, especially Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, were as light-hearted over Allied unity as was the public. Or did they think they had Mr. Stalin in the bag? Did they actually believe, for instance, that the Soviet Union would accede to the Polish request for Anglo-American mediation of the boundary controversy, a request which was obviously encouraged by the Foreign Office and the State Department? If they did, they certainly misunderstand Soviet foreign policy. It has been clear for many months now that the Polish-Soviet boundary question is closely linked with the problem of the political composition of the exiled Polish cabinet in London, and that the Soviet government is unwilling to negotiate with this cabinet, which includes many reactionary, violently anti-Soviet members. Yet James B. Reston, reporting from London in The New York Times of January 21, 1944, once again speaks of "the mystery of the Soviet government's rejection of the Polish government's proposal to submit 'all outstanding questions' to the judgment of a four-power conference."

There is nothing mysterious and enigmatic about the Soviet Union's foreign policy.[1] On the contrary, it is simple, straightforward and down-to-earth. It is built on two mutually not antagonistic courses. On the one hand, the Soviet Union seeks international coöperation with the Anglo-American powers and China in a system of collective security. It has given ample proof of this in both word and deed. The dissolution of the Communist International, long an obstacle to coöperation, paced the way. The agreements of Moscow and Teheran are milestones along the road. On the other hand, the Soviet Union plans to occupy a dominant position in the political future of central and southeastern Europe. Its opposition to regional federations of the *cordon-sanitaire* variety, its reluctance to deal with the reactionary Governments-in-Exile of Yugoslavia, Poland and Greece, its insistence on the 1941 boundaries, its treaty of alliance with the Czecho-Slovakian Government-in-Exile which leaves the door open for other states to join, its support of the Partisan movement in the Balkans, its sponsorship of the Free Germany Committee and the Union of Polish Patriots—all of these actions indicate the trend of Soviet foreign policy. They in no way preclude coöperation in a system of collective security.

Soviet foreign policy in central and southeastern Europe will undoubtedly be decried as "imperialism" or "expansionism." But Soviet policy is no more "imperialistic" than our own "good-neighbor" policy. The Soviet desire to have friendly governments in the countries around its borders is as understandable as our own desire to have friendly regimes in Latin America. British and American support of the Polish Government-in-Exile suggests that we have not as yet recognized the Soviet claim for a "security sphere" of its own. To call such recognition "appeasement" is preposterous. But it would certainly remove points of friction which might otherwise destroy the entire edifice of Soviet-Anglo-American unity. And it would also help to remove the continuing mistrust of Anglo-American intentions which was once more manifest in the Pravda story.

[1] For a sympathetic study of Soviet foreign policy see Joachim Joesten's "What Russia Wants," just published by Duell, Sloan and Pearce, Inc. $2.50.

Watch Governor Dewey

In spite of the repeated statements of Governor Dewey of New York that he intends to serve out his four-year term, there is no doubt among the politically wise that he is a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination. His refusal to appear as such is merely part of his campaign. The advantages of this refusal are that it preserves the myth that the man should not seek the office, that it keeps him aloof from embarrassing controversies on the national scene and that it enables him to build his support in secrecy behind the false front of indifference, while he waits for the right moment to accede to a "popular" demand, supposedly based on his stewardship of the offices he has held.

Those who are familiar with Mr. Dewey's past record at close range cannot help wondering what moves are being made and what strategy is being devised behind this screen. He made his record, of course, as a prosecutor of racketeers and gangsters in New York City at a time when the people of the whole nation were aroused about rackets, and New York was supposed to be the den of all iniquity. This made him, in

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popular estimation, a sort of young Lochinvar come out of the East. He has virtually no other claim to national attention or eminence.

Mr. Dewey did reduce state taxes at a time when, after the shrewd fiscal management of Governor Lehman, a surplus was certain to appear because of the rise in the national income accompanying the defense program. He did act as the champion of the Eastern farmers who were supposed to be suffering from a shortage of feed, though it turned out that feed supplies were larger than ever, and the difficulty was caused mainly by the great increase in poultry and livestock to be fed. Beyond this, his national record is mainly that of an isolationist who belatedly adjusted himself to the war by suddenly coming out for an alliance with Great Britain.

His main political stock in trade remains the reputation, the experience and the knowledge he accumulated as a racket-buster. Those who are familiar with his activities in this role, though they are just as hostile to rackets and crime as anyone, do not generally regard him as the pure and perfect knight. It is revealing no secret to say that he is not popular with most of the men who know him and have followed his career in some detail. He is regarded as cold, ambitious, not over-scrupulous about the methods he employs, and much more concerned about making the headlines than about justice. It is reasonable to suppose that in running for President he will make whatever use he can of this fund of experience. And there is some reason for the expectation that the use will not be entirely savory.

Hints of such developments have appeared in the case of Louis Lepke Buchalter. This gangster was convicted of murder by New York State. It happened that for a time before his conviction he was in the custody of the federal government on a narcotics charge, for which he had been serving his sentence. Governor Dewey has been exerting pressure on Attorney General Biddle to turn Buchalter over to the state —an activity which seems natural and praiseworthy. The gangster, however, has a petition for clemency pending before the Governor, and the Attorney General has been reluctant to lose control of him before this petition was decided, since if it were granted, the prisoner might go scot free. Governor Dewey, in turn, has declined to hear the petition in the absence of the guilty man.

While this controversy was still undecided, at least one of the more irresponsible columnists hostile to the administration began to write poisonous insinuations as to the reasons for Mr. Biddle's reluctance. He alleged that Buchalter could implicate persons high in the administration with the activities of "Murder, Incorporated," among them a prominent, and respected labor leader, and that Buchalter would do so if he were allowed to talk. The answer of defenders of the persons so accused was the obvious one that the gangster would be glad to say anything which might induce the Governor to commute his sentence, and that the Governor was not above using such dubious testimony for his political advancement. All the elements of a shady political deal appeared to be present.

Subsequently, the Attorney General has agreed to release Buchalter to the state for the clemency hearing, provided the state will turn him back if he is not executed for murder. The possibility still remains, however, that the criminal will be glad to give any testimony which may lead to the substitution of a prison sentence for the electric chair, and that he may say something which could be used against Mr. Dewey's political opponents.

Recently a number of minor labor leaders, most of them in New York, have been giving evidence of a surprising willingness to climb on the Dewey bandwagon. There seems to be no good reason, from the point of view of the labor movement, why union leaders should prefer a Republican candidate to their traditional Democratic affiliation, or why, among all the Republican aspirants, they should pick out Mr. Dewey. It is recalled that some of these unions were exploited by racketeers, and it is a reasonable supposition that even some leaders who were not implicated might be fearful of a smear campaign which could be inaugurated by a politician who had been as close to the situation as the former prosecutor.

We do not imply that any of these suspicions are justified. Mr. Dewey may make a campaign which is entirely open and aboveboard, and he may deservedly win the support of the public. But independent voters, and citizens of good will generally, should watch carefully any developments of the sort which seem to be foreshadowed. They should not be naïve about any charges which may come from the general direction of the Dewey camp, but should submit them to the scrutiny of a critical intelligence.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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The Polish Frontier[1]

A Test of the United Nations

THIS GOVERNMENT . . . could not approve the adoption of an offensive war program against Russia by the Polish Government. . . . The United States Government believes that the Polish Government might well . . . declare its intention to abstain from any aggressions against Russian territorial integrity . . . [and to] remain within the boundary indicated by the Peace Conference."

So wrote Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby to the Polish Foreign Minister. The time was August 21, 1920. The occasion was the almost fatal disaster which the rulers of resurrected Poland had brought upon themselves by invading Russia in the preceding April in order to restore the frontiers of 1772. The Peace Conference boundary, fixed by the Supreme Council with American approval on December 8, 1919, was the so-called "Curzon Line" which Moscow has recently proposed as the basis of the new Polish-Soviet frontier. It was drawn, under the authority of Article 87 of the Treaty of Versailles, to conform to No. 13 of Wilson's 14 points, pledging an independent Polish State "which would include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations." In its central sector, the line follows the demarcation of 1939, which was the *de-facto* frontier of the USSR on June 22, 1941. In the north and south the Curzon Line runs east of the 1939-41 boundary, leaving the Bialystok area and part of the region between Przemysl and Lvov (Lemberg) within Poland.

West of this line Poles are indisputably a majority of the population. East of it they are indisputably a minority. The Polish government in Warsaw repudiated the Curzon Line in 1920, rejected Soviet offers of a generous strip to the east of it and insisted upon annexing millions of non-Polish peoples. The Polish government in London, with commendable consistency but doubtful wisdom, repudiates it in 1944 and insists upon reannexation in toto of all areas wrested from Russia in 1920. The proposed journey of Premier Mikolajczyk and Foreign Minister Romer to Washington is evidently intended to win American support for this demand.

Few Americans and fewer Poles remember that the frontier now demanded by the Poles was denounced by the United States when it was first established. The Department of State long championed Russian territorial integrity, opposed the independence of the Baltic states and objected to Polish rule over the regions now in controversy. Polish demands on Moscow in the spring of 1920, reported Minister Hugh Gibson, leave the Polish government "open to the charge of imperialism." In August, Acting Secretary of State Norman H. Davis urged Poland once more to remain within the Curzon Line and to keep out of Vilna. "It is of especial importance that a veiled excuse for further invasion of Russian territory be not found in a strategic consideration." Warsaw spurned all appeals. "The military group which surrounds Pilsudski," reported Gibson in September, "is engaged in a clearly defined movement to keep Poland from concluding peace and to make ready for new military undertakings. They are motivated by the fact that they see in this plan the only way to rebuild their own fortunes, which have been shattered."

When the annexationist peace of Riga was signed in October, 1920 (confirmed in a formal treaty of March 18, 1921), the Kerensky Ambassador in Washington, Boris Bakhmetiev, warned Norman Davis that this flagrant violation of ethnographic considerations could not endure: "Restored Russia will never approve of a treaty of dismemberment forcibly imposed in times of adversity; nor will the peasant population, predominantly Orthodox, of the western provinces of Russia acquiesce to the domination of Polish Catholic landlordism. The Riga treaty is thus a menace to future world peace."[1] The State Department concurred, and refused to recognize the new frontier until March, 1923.

Debate has been endless and fruitless as to whether the problem has been altered by Soviet acceptance of the Riga frontier for nineteen years, by the Soviet-controlled plebiscite of 1939, by the Polish-Soviet agreement of July 30, 1941, invalidating the Ribbentrop-Molotov line, by the Atlantic Charter, by the Soviet-Polish rupture of last Easter or by sundry other events. The central fact remains that the Polish-speaking inhabitants of the disputed area, consisting chiefly of town-dwellers and rural estate-owners, are less numerous than the non-Polish peasants and workers who speak the tongues of the Soviet Union. In a world of resurgent nationalism, this fact cannot be ignored, for it is a determinant of Soviet policy and of long accepted Anglo-American conceptions of self-determination and frontier delimitation.

Under Soviet rule in 1939-41, many Poles were deported and all residents were made Soviet citizens.

[1] Comment on this article appears in the editorial section. – THE EDITORS

[1] All of the quotations above are from "Foreign Relations of the United States, 1920," vol. III.

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How many have survived two hideous years of scientific butchery at the hands of Nazi sadists, bent on exterminating Slavs and Jews alike, is known only to Rosenberg and Himmler. But in 1939, according to the official Polish census estimates (which certainly did not minimize the number of Poles in the area), the total population of the zone occupied by Moscow numbered 13,199,000, of whom 5,274,000 (39.9 percent) gave Polish as their mother tongue, as against 7,413,000 (60.1 percent) non-Poles, of whom 5,786,000 (40.9 percent) were Ukrainian, White Russian or Russian, with the balance speaking Yiddish, Lithuanian, German, etc. In the southern half of the zone, moreover, with almost 8,000,000 inhabitants, Poles constituted only 32.6 percent and Ukrainians 56.5 percent of the total ("Concise Statistical Year Book of Poland," The Polish Ministry of Information, London, December, 1941). These figures, it should be noted, include the regions of Bialystok and Lvov, where at least one-fifth of the Polish-speaking inhabitants of the entire eastern area lived. With these regions restored to Poland, the remaining Poles east of the line would constitute a considerably smaller proportion of the total than is indicated above.

The Allied powers recognized Polish sovereignty over the western Ukraine only after Warsaw had accepted the minority treaty of 1919 and made a promise of local autonomy in 1923. The promise was never kept. The treaty was repudiated in 1934. Warsaw's policy was one of Polish colonization and repressive assimilation, characterized by frequent terrorism and by chronic discrimination and exploitation. The original Polish case for aggrandizement at Russia's expense, and the Polish case today for restoration of the former frontiers, rests not on ethnic considerations but on historical claims, patriotic sentiment, anti-Bolshevism and ambitions to play the role of a Great Power. Arguments based on the Anglo-Polish treaty of August 25, 1939, the Atlantic Charter and the Sikorski-Stalin agreements are scarcely germane. Britain never guaranteed the territorial integrity, but only the independence, of Poland in the pacts of 1939. Churchill, without challenge from any official source, declared on September 9, 1941, that the Charter referred primarily to states under the Nazi yoke, a condition prevailing in ethnic Poland proper after 1939 but not in the eastern regions until the Axis invasion of the Soviet Union. Moscow, moreover, has at no time assented to a restoration of the pre-1939 frontier. As between Polish and Russian patriotic and historical claims, no rational choice can be made. Polish officials in London and their supporters elsewhere must therefore base their argument on the desirability of restoring Poland as a Great Power and on the strategic necessity of the old frontiers for defense.

This demand, under the predictable circumstances of the future, is even more unrealistic than were the aspirations of Pilsudski's Colonels between the two wars. The Poland of 1921-39 was the largest and most populous of the lesser European states. Its leaders played power politics with fervor if not with skill. They seized territories from Germany, Russia, Lithuania and (at the time of Munich) Czecho-Slovakia, none of which the Government-in-Exile has expressed any willingness to give up. They toyed with Nazi invitations to join the Reich in attacking Russia but rejected them in favor of an "independent" policy. They rejected Soviet offers of defense against Germany, thereby wrecking the Anglo-Soviet negotiations of 1939, driving Moscow and Berlin to their fatal pact and rendering World War II inevitable. They led their people to disaster because their assumptions as to the components of power at their disposal were tragically false. Poland collapsed in a fortnight. The illusions of yesterday were bred of German and Russian weakness in the 1920's. In the Europe of tomorrow Germany will be a vacuum and the USSR will be the strongest power on the continent. The lesser states of central and eastern Europe will have no effective power whatever at their disposal save in collaboration with the Soviet Union.

This simple fact Dr. Benes has recognized. This fact must be recognized by those who will rule Poland after the Nazis have been expelled. If the leaders in London cannot recognize it, they will have no part in ruling Poland, since her rulers can be established only behind the bayonets of the Red Army. Stalin is pledged to a strong and independent Poland. Such a Poland will never exist save within frontiers acceptable to Moscow and within a security system based upon Soviet power. Those who reject these facts in favor of the dreams of a dead yesterday are not promoting Polish independence but are in effect condemning Poland to political extinction.

Americans are in duty bound to take cognizance of the realities of power. To do so is not to accept the doctrine that might makes right, but to recognize that right, unsupported by might, is impotent. Next to certain Polish nationalists, Americans have long been the most blind of peoples in the face of the geopolitics of power. They have therefore courted disaster by their inability to distinguish friends from foes, to assess correctly the meaning of changes in the balance and to support and implement the global combinations essential for American welfare. Those who raise the cry that acquiescence in a Polish settlement acceptable to the Kremlin will promote American cynicism and isolationism are assuming, if not hoping, that Americans will again lose their vision. Like Aid-to-Britain and Lend-Lease, future political collaboration of Washington with London, Moscow and Chungking is not a favor rendered to others by America, to be granted or withheld in terms of foreign adoption or rejection

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of American views. It is the pre-condition of American safety. It is the *sine qua non* of the security of all the Great Powers and of the very survival of Poland and of all other states which lack power of their own to maintain their independence. A viable system of interdependence requires that all disputed frontiers be redrawn in a fashion compatible with the greatest good of the greatest number. The greatest of great goods is the solidarity of the Anglo-Soviet-American-Chinese coalition, for all rights will perish in a new epoch of anarchy unless the might of these united powers is available to protect them.

This principle, carried to its logical conclusion, would make all questions of boundaries and of freedom for unfree peoples matters for collective determination by the major United Nations in consultation with the lesser states. Were this ideal immediately attainable, there would be merit in the demand that Moscow should fix the Soviet frontiers, not by unilateral action or bilateral negotiations, but by compromise with the desires of all its allies. Such a procedure can come into being, however, only when London expresses willingness to resort to an identical procedure for determining the future status of Hong Kong, Burma, India and Palestine, to take but a few instances, and when Washington submits to an international determination of the future status of Puerto Rico, Guam, the Japanese mandated islands and numerous naval and air bases scattered over the globe. In fact, most Britons insist that only Britain can determine the requirements of British security, and most Americans insist on the same rights for the United States, in agreement with allies if possible, but alone if necessary.

Under these conditions the only basis of common action for common purposes is the proposition that each major member of the nuclear alliance shall respect the right of its major partners to make such provisions for their own safety in their own spheres as they deem necessary, so long as the vital interests of the others are not adversely affected thereby. In the visible future, Allied unity can rest on no other principle. Premier Mikolajczyk and his followers cannot expect Britain and the United States to hold the USSR to a collective procedure for the settlement of controversies over the independence or the frontiers of neighboring communities while London and Washington adhere to the view that comparable problems within their own spheres of interest are solely their own business.

Moscow now appears to favor the Curzon Line (perhaps rectified to include Grodno, Brest-Litovsk and Lvov within Poland) as the eastern frontier of the new Polish state, with the western frontier extended to embrace east Prussia, Silesia and part of west Prussia. Such a settlement, to be durable, must involve the optional transfer of minorities on either side of the new Polish-Soviet boundary. It must also involve the obligatory transfer to the Reich of the German populations of the Prussian areas awarded to Poland and the partition of the Junker estates among the Polish peasants. If properly administered, such measures need involve no hardships remotely comparable to those inflicted upon other peoples by the erstwhile "master race." Agrarian reform, moreover, would effectively destroy the Prussia Junker aristocracy whose disappearance is the prerequisite of a free world, a free Europe and a free Germany.

To condemn such a solution as "Vansittartism" or as "appeasement" of Polish or Soviet "imperialism" is to ignore the imperative of ethics and politics alike. All Slavic peoples are determined that Prussianism must be excised from the German body politic and that the Teutonic *Drang nach Osten* must be forever ended. Neither Americans, Britons nor genuine German liberals can regard such demands as unjustified or unwise. To replace Junker aristocracy by Polish aristocrats, to be sure, would be pointless and dangerous. To end old minority problems by creating new ones would be fatal to future peace. But an orderly transfer of peoples, accompanied by the liquidation of feudalism in eastern Europe and by ample trading opportunities for a new Germany, would offer promise of a new and hopeful life for all concerned.

This solution presupposes a democratic Poland, linked with Czecho-Slovakia and the Soviet Union, and perhaps with Yugoslavia, Greece and Bulgaria, in a great regional alliance for mutual security, tied up in turn with a European and global system of collective defense. Such an alliance might well develop into an economic and political federation, to the enormous benefit of all the peoples involved. Moscow will welcome such a federation among its Western neighbors and allies, provided that they are ruled by popular regimes whose leaders are prepared to recognize the realities of power. There is no reasonable ground for holding that British, American or Polish interests would be injured by such an arrangement.

The problem of the Polish frontiers is thus inseparable from the broader problems of the future social and political structure of Germany and Central Europe as a whole. This problem has not yet been faced by Washington and London. Moscow's attitude toward a resumption of relations with the Polish Government-in-Exile and toward Anglo-American mediation of the border issue is determined by Moscow's assumptions as to whether Mikolajczyk, Churchill and Roosevelt are aiming at putting Humpty-Dumpty back on the wall or at a program for a new Germany and a new Europe to be worked out in agreement with the USSR. The "Big Three" reached a military accord at Teheran. They have not yet reached a political accord. Without this, there can be no winning of the peace nor any

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future independence or security for Poland or for other weak states.

Events may show that recent sensations in the Soviet press are designed to bring pressure to bear on Britain and America for a comprehensive political agreement. Whatever judgment may be passed upon Soviet tactics in such matters, it should be clear to all that nothing less than such an agreement will put an end to Nazi hopes of splitting the Allies and to liberal fears that the United Nations will disintegrate after victory. The first step toward such an agreement is a solution of the problem of Poland. As is the case with the other problems of eastern Europe, a workable solution must not only conform to the actual interests of the peoples affected but must give the USSR a voice in the settlement commensurate with the actual power of the Soviet Union in the war of today and in the peace of tomorrow.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

Nazism in Latin America

THE NAZIS have landed in America. Axis forces have finally established a bridgehead in the New World and are now preparing to extend the lines of their attack in many directions. Fascism has arrived in Argentina, and the defenses which the United States is offering against its march over the rest of South America are, to date, obviously no match for the invaders. The Good Neighbor Policy and Pan American Unity will have to be sharpened up if they are to serve as our weapons against the new Nazi blitz forming to the south.

It is summer in Argentina. The fashionable seaside resorts are getting into full swing. The roulette tables in the casinos are crowded with eager bettors. Buenos Aires is on the boom, and her charming citizens are enjoying the things that their plentiful funds will buy.

Democratic-minded Argentinians who hate fascism in all its forms shudder at the totalitarian trend of their government and dream of the time when they can unseat the Ramirez dictatorship and the secret society known as the GOU (Group of United Officers) which now controls the country. They know that the revolution of last June 4 which brought this latest regime to power is not the usual South American revolution nor has it resulted in a usual South American dictatorship. Under the Ramirez government, the Argentine Congress has been abolished. Labor unions have been suppressed and a Gestapo-like police system established. Political parties have been ordered dissolved, and no open political opposition to the Ramirez government can therefore exist. Lay teaching in the schools has been forbidden. There is most rigid censorship of press and radio, so that the Argentine people have no way of knowing what the rest of the world thinks of their government. Recently, Uruguayan papers which carry full international news have been barred from the country to strengthen the blockade against the truth.

But most Argentinians, cut off from public information as they have now been for almost two years, and lulled by the good times they are enjoying, are content to leave politics to the politicians. And the Ramirez regime is taking full advantage of this opportunity to push forward with its schemes for extending fascist control over all of Latin America. The GOU is relying on one strong Argentine characteristic to help it to realize its continental ambitions, namely, the sense of nationalism. John Gunther marveled at it. "I have never seen anything like it except in Japan," he says. "Even the matchboxes carry patriotic slogans. . . . [The Argentines] considered themselves infinitely superior to their neighbors; they dismissed such folk as Venezuelans and Ecuadorians as remote savages. Every Argentine *knows* that his country has a great imperial destiny. Every Argentine *knows* that Buenos Aires is the finest city in the world."

The Nazi Falangists expect these emotions to keep the people in line behind the Ramirez regime while it robs and rapes its neighbors. Even our discreet former Undersecretary of State, Mr. Sumner Welles, has spoken out about this threat in his present newspaper series: "For several months reports have been persistent and well authenticated that the Argentine government, through secret agents, has been endeavoring to bring about the overthrow of governments in neighboring countries for the purpose of establishing military regimes sympathetic to its own policies."

It is now clear to all but those who will not see that the role which Argentina has been cast by her European fascist bosses to play is first, to destroy support for the United Nations by every possible means at her command—from fomenting internal political disturbances to bringing economic pressures to bear—and second, to head the fascist movement in the Western Hemisphere.

Many observers have interpreted the recent revolution in Bolivia as the first step in Argentina's fascist drive. Secretary of State Cordell Hull has refused recognition of the new Bolivian Junta, and has stated that available information "increasingly strengthens the belief that forces outside of Bolivia and unfriendly to the defense of the American republics inspired and aided the Bolivian revolution." Foreign correspondents have mentioned Germany as well as Argentina as having encouraged the revolt against Gen. Enrique

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Peñaranda. They point out that some of the organizers of the revolution had close ties with Argentina, that, for instance, Paz Estenssoro, Finance Minister in the new government, was a guest in Buenos Aires shortly before the uprising, where he spoke on the Argentine radio predicting Peñaranda's overthrow and was royally entertained at the well known nationalistic Del Plata Club. The New York Times correspondent in Buenos Aires reports that "more than one revolutionary plotter was in intimate contact with German elements at La Paz until the very eve of the revolution. Some Bolivian political refugees in Argentina go so far as to say that the leaders of the Movimento Nacionalista Revolucionario, the political group chiefly responsible for Peñaranda's ejection, met in the German club of La Paz until one week before the revolution."

But there are many indications that Argentine intervention is not the whole story in the case of the Bolivian revolt. There may still be a chance that the Junta, regardless of its origins, will become a pro-democratic government. José Antonio Arze, leader of the liberal PIR party, has now made his way back to La Paz, where he is negotiating with the Junta on a possible coalition of the two forces. The leading trade unions of Bolivia have now joined in an appeal to United States workers to help gain recognition for the new government which their message says "represents the hopes of Bolivian workers." A setback for American opinion occurred on January 23, when Dr. Enrique de Lozada, who had been special representative of the government in Washington, resigned his post on the ground that the PIR, pro-democratic leftist party, is not represented.

Regardless of what finally results from the Bolivian revolt, there can be little doubt that Argentina hoped that a government which would favor joining in an Argentine bloc would come to power. Meanwhile, Argentine agents and Falangists are busy elsewhere. Chile was so shaken by a recent plot that the government issued an official warning against pro-fascist activities. The well organized democratic elements within Chile make the fascist job difficult there. But Peru is similarly beset by the tireless Axis agents, and the backwardness and feudal character of many of that nation's institutions leave it wide open to clever disruption. Stories of a threatened coup against the regime of President Vargas in Brazil by pro-Axis elements in the army and the Integralista Green Shirts are increasing. Brazilian exiles in this country say that such an uprising would be led by Argentine sympathizers and would mark the end of Brazilian collaboration in the United Nations.

Paraguay is clearly the worst victim of Argentine aggression to date, however. For generations past, Argentina has been out to bottle up this land-locked nation, but the Ramirez regime has accomplished more in its months of power than all the other Argentine governments put together. The latest development was the State visit of Paraguayan President Morinigio to Buenos Aires, in the course of which eight separate treaties relating to commercial and cultural interchange were negotiated. Argentina was pushing for a complete customs union between the two countries, as a prelude to future "unification" of their economies. Paraguay escaped the death noose this time, but most Paraguayans admit that Argentina came out of the recent negotiations with a "good bargain." In their most honest moments Paraguayans further admit that they do not see how they are going to escape being smothered to death by the enthusiastic embrace of their good neighbor Argentina in the future.

Even in Uruguay, the stronghold of pro-democratic sentiment in South America, efforts have been made to provoke dissatisfaction with present pro-United Nations policies. Reactionaries in the Chamber of Representatives, who seem to reflect the views of the Argentine GOU, have been so obstreperous that they have been denounced by the president of the Chamber.

Fascism is on the march within our own hemisphere. Disregarded or left unrestrained, Argentina may become another Spain, may set off the fascist conflagration in the New World. Our State Department is not unmindful of what is at stake. Anxious conferences of United States officials and Anglo-American meetings on Latin America are occupying some of our top statesmen, and rightly.

The United States has already done a few things. We have granted credits to other Latin American nations which have made it possible for them to advance industrially during the war to a point where they will offer serious competition to the flourishing Argentine after the war. Argentina has been left out on Lend-Lease; she has been unable to obtain the modern military equipment which has gone to the other American republics through those channels. Argentina is left out of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration because she has refused to sever her ties with the Axis: as one of the great food-producing countries of the world, with a vital interest in this question, being left out of UNRRA is a real blow to her.

These moves, however, are not even the beginning of an effective program to bring Argentina into line with the United Nations. The central problem is how to stop an Argentine, or fascist, bloc from developing in Latin America. There are two major schools of thought on how to solve the problem. One favors the "Get Tough Now" method and advocates clapping an economic embargo on Argentina immediately. A United Nations embargo, that is. And that is much easier advocated than executed. In this case, the United Nations, for practical purposes, are the United States and Great Britain. There have been press reports that the two nations are discussing such a boycott. The New

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York Times has even reported an Anglo-American economic conference "believed to have been held" on the Argentine boycott question at which the British were supposed to have been urged to find another supplier for a large wheat contract they were about to let to Argentina, as well as sounded out on possible collaboration in a full boycott. The results of these official sessions are, of course, not known. But realists on international questions here are quick to say that they cannot imagine the British coming in on such a proposition. In the first place, throughout the war and even before, England has relied on Argentina for most of her meat and wheat. We would be hard put to it to make up that supply to Britain if she came in with us on the Argentine boycott. And in addition, more importantly, even if the British government were willing to participate in such a venture, British capital would more than likely raise a tremendous protest.

Americans are inclined to forget the head start the British have in Argentina. The roots of their influence go all the way back to Cabot's visit to the Plata in 1526. But their hold on the country came largely through their early control of the railway system. Englishmen went into Argentine banks and businesses of all kinds as well, and when cold-storage plants became a key part of the Argentine cattle business, they monopolized that industry too. Street railways and utilities of all kinds in the principal cities were accepted as British properties. Argentina became so important a field for investment as well as for raw materials that she was known to Britain as the "Sixth Dominion," and the *bon mot* of the Englishman who said, "You may take Canada from us, but never Argentina," came to be accepted as more truth than humor. It is such considerations as these that give rise to cynical smiles when an Argentine boycott is discussed.

The second school of thought on how to handle the Argentine threat says that an economic boycott now is impossible and that the thing to do is to carry out as many lesser alternatives as possible. Supporters of this view contend that there can be many effective steps this side of breaking off relations with the Ramirez government. The problem is political as well as military, they rightly argue, and the most important point is to convey to the Argentine people the fact that we are making a distinction between them and their leaders in the treatment we are meting out. The newspaper PM has presented a sound minimum program in this connection:

Let President Roosevelt tell the people of Latin America our war aims in terms of Latin America. (Latin Americans are unusually responsive to oratory, and a couple of speeches by the President and perhaps Secretary Hull as well, reiterating our objectives in terms of hemisphere relations, might be of value.)

Create a joint labor committee that can help build a democratic bridge between us and the peoples of Latin America.

Recast the orientation of the Rockefeller Committee so that it can stress social and economic coöperation as well as war coöperation. For all practical purposes the State Department controls the committee's activities in Latin America today, and thus far its policy has been to stress our military might and quietly ignore social and economic questions.

Convoke a food conference of the American republics to learn concrete facts on food needs and the best way to meet them.

Give the ordinary people of Latin America, who can furnish the only foundation for true hemispheric solidarity, a real stake in this war that we're fighting.

Many of the generalities contained in this brief program could be pinned down by free application of the programs which the Rockefeller office has begun, particularly in the fields of food, health and what that organization calls "basic-economy" projects, that is, free from the interference of hidebound State Department career men. Realists consider this possibility farther from realization than British agreement to an economic boycott of Argentina.

Uruguay offers an opportunity for effective action —action that is possible within the limitations of our diplomacy. Military experts agree that no military power can control South America without controlling Uruguay and her La Plata. It is considered proper to measure and allocate the favors at one's disposal in diplomacy, and, therefore, it cannot be considered out of bounds to urge that aiding Uruguay at every chance be made accepted policy. We rushed into Paraguay, Argentina's pal, with a food mission and a food program in mid-1942, and although Uruguay has made several requests for a food program, we have not yet sent her any help at all. Such situations could easily be remedied. When war broke out, for instance, Uruguay was in the process of constructing a huge national power plant for the purpose of electrifying her rural areas. Three generators which had been ordered from Europe could not be delivered, so Uruguay asked us for them. After all these months, one of the generators has finally been shipped; the other two will soon be on their way, but this reasonably simple request has not been executed with the speed a good neighbor could rightly expect.

Probably most Americans would back up our government if it broke relations, for one reason or another, with the Ramirez regime. But to be effective, such action would have to be accompanied by a complete change in our policy toward Franco Spain and the activities of the Falange in the New World. What we need is one consistent policy toward fascism throughout the Latin world. Without that, our hemisphere will surely become the next stronghold of world fascism. Without that, there can be no hope of the kind of regional unity in the Western Hemisphere that is essential for successful world organization in the future.

Washington HELEN FULLER

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Hague Is the Law

One section of the United States today is in effect an "occupied area," set apart from the rest of the country as a fascist unit. That section is Hudson County, New Jersey. Some of the more daring residents of that community, risking the vengeance of Dictator Frank Hague, have called upon the federal government to liberate them. Without assistance they are actually as helpless as any of the enslaved peoples of occupied Europe.

What has happened (and is still happening) in Hudson County is our fault because we, as a people, have watched the growth of Hagueism with only a detached interest, believing it not worth our efforts to do anything about it. We may have considered Hagueism a bad thing, much as we considered Hitlerism a bad thing. Yet we make a mistake if we think of Hague as a local problem, to be dealt with by the people of his own community, as some Americans honestly believed Hitler a local problem, to be dealt with by the people of Germany. Hagueism, or native fascism, is an infection. Hudson County is the infected area. While we are fighting fascism abroad, Hagueism flourishes here. If it is permitted to flourish and to spread, then democracy in America will be gravely injured.

The City Affairs Committee of Jersey City, a small group of civic-minded Americans, who work in much the same way as a European underground movement, has petitioned Attorney General Biddle to move into Hudson County to restore civil rights that have been suppressed by the Hague political machine, in violation of the United States Criminal Code. Citizens in that American community are denied fair and impartial trials by politically controlled courts and juries. Hague's "law"-enforcement organization—an American Gestapo—arrests men and women and holds them incommunicado in jails (under prohibitive bail) on trumped-up charges of being material witnesses to crimes. Citizens, jailed on the flimsiest of pretexts, are not permitted to consult with their attorneys. Hague's prosecutor's office and the Hudson County jury system are so geared that political indictments and convictions are a matter of course, even on faked evidence.

When Hitler boasted that he was Germany, he meant it. And when Frank Hague said years ago that in Jersey City he was the law, he too was in deadly earnest. Hague's political machine functions so smoothly (and fatally) against the democratic processes in Hudson County that perjurers who string along with Hague are handsomely rewarded, while honest men who oppose him are thrust into prison. Perverted justice is accepted in Haguetown as the American Way.

The recent case of John R. Longo, a Hague foe, sentenced to from eighteen months to three years in prison after being convicted—on faked evidence and perjured testimony—of altering his own voting record, highlights once more the case of Hague v. the American people.

Why can't the people of Hudson County rid themselves of Hagueism without outside help (federal assistance), if they seriously wish to do so? Hague (like Hitler) has blocked all avenues of escape. It has been years, for example, since the people of Hudson County have enjoyed a really free election.

Hagueism is the perfection of corrupt machine politics, organized more than twenty-five years ago, and refined over the years. Hague climbed to power as a benevolent despot, currying good will by providing jobs, granting favors—and smashing all opposition. It is axiomatic in Jersey City that if you're in right with your ward leader you don't need a lawyer. It doesn't always work, but people in Jersey City live on that assumption.

When Hague once became recognized as the undisputed leader of New Jersey's Democracy—and he had eliminated all serious opposition in the Democratic primaries—he expanded and took over the Republican organization in his county as an affiliate of his own machine. He accomplished this by a simple expedient. The membership in his own party had swelled to such tremendous proportions that he found that he had more Democrats than he needed to win a given election. He encouraged a sizable number of his followers to register as Republicans. They did, and through these "one-day Republicans" Hague captured control of the "opposition." Nominally, of course, the Republicans still function as an organization in Hudson County, but the people aren't fooled: Hague Democrats and Hague Republicans play on the same team.

The result: public jobholders in Hudson County, of whatever political "faith," from street-cleaners to judges of the highest county court, are, with few exceptions, beholden to the Boss. But Hague's influence reaches far beyond the confines of his own bailiwick. He has his own justices on the New Jersey Supreme Court, on the Court of Errors and Appeals, the state's highest court, and on the federal bench.

More, by tacit agreement with leaders of the Republican machine in south New Jersey, Hague has the support of key members in the Republican State Senate, who pass measures and nominations that are agreeable to the Boss, and block others of which he disapproves. Why do opposition senators stoop to play Hague's game? They know that after their term in the legislature is up, they can't remain a power in state politics without Hague's okay. Not even a Republican Governor, as a usual thing, would appoint a

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Hague enemy to a political post. Besides, it's important to have on your side the man who dispenses federal and state patronage, and for years Hague, Democratic boss of New Jersey and vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, has been that man.

Three years ago Charles Edison, with Hague's support, was elected Governor of New Jersey. Hague has always had a "friend" in the governorship, Democrat or Republican. But in Edison, Hague found he had supported a man who preferred to discharge his obligations to the people rather than repay a political dictator.

Edison had said in the course of the campaign that he would be beholden to no man and that if elected he would be responsible only to his conscience. Hague figured Edison was talking political blarney. But he wasn't. Hague's judgment, seldom faulty in such an important matter as the choice of a gubernatorial candidate, had signally failed him. That mistake may yet prove his political undoing, even though Edison's term has expired and Walter E. Edge, a Republican, has taken over.

In Edison, Hague had elected a political foe. Hague raged. The Democratic ranks in New Jersey split into Hague and Edison factions. Independents rallied under Edison's leadership, and the Governor found that he had the support of a large number of bona-fide Republicans in addition to regularly enrolled Democrats who were opposed to Hagueism.

The issue was sharply defined: honest government v. corrupt government, and the fight was on. Though Hague has sought to blacken Edison as a wrecker of democracy, the Governor, a Roosevelt Democrat, has fought Hague not as a Democrat but as a non-partisan, and on issues—civil liberties among them—that transcend partisan politics. Edison was hamstrung at every turn. A feud, inspired by Hague and his co-conspirators in the south New Jersey Republican machine, developed between the Governor and the Legislature, with the consequence that the Republican State Senate refused even to consider confirmations of Edison's appointments of Republicans to the Hudson County bench to fill existing vacancies in the local judiciary, even though one of the nominees had been recommended by the State Senate and Republican leadership. Edison, however, did make inroads on Hague's power. After a hearing, he ousted Hague's Hudson County Board of Taxation on charges of failing to perform its duty.

Jersey City is for the most part a sprawling slum which tragically reflects Hague's oppressive tax program. With its tax rate of $57.45 per $1,000, plus inflated assessments, Jersey City pays the highest per-capita rate for government of any community in the nation. About four years ago a federal survey disclosed that 13 percent of the buildings in Jersey City were unfit for human habitation.

Edison appointed a new tax board which, within one year, slashed inflated assessments on real estate more than $90,000,000. Most of the cuts were granted under legal authority without even the formality of an appeal by the taxpayer.

Hague screamed that Edison was ruining Jersey City. That wasn't true but it made good reading in the Hague-controlled press. Edison was merely carrying out his preëlection promises to give the people of New Jersey, and in particular the people of Hudson County, an honest administration. He did, so far as he was able. Yet he fell far short of doing a bang-up job against Hagueism. Neither he nor any other governor could successfully battle Hague as long as the state's antiquated 99-year-old Constitution remained the basic law. Hague fought to keep intact an instrument which legally deprived a New Jersey Governor of many removal powers.

It was obvious to Edison that New Jersey needed a more effective Constitution, and it was proposed that the people be given a chance to express their will on that question. Hague, as usual, sought to decide that question himself. He was against any "tampering" with the Constitution, and the Hague-controlled press, echoing the Boss's sentiments, damned Edison. But the people trusted Edison and got behind him, and in the recent gubernatorial election Hague went down to defeat on two counts:

The referendum on the question of a new state Constitution was carried by an overwhelming vote.

Hague failed to put his candidate—Mayor Murphy, of Newark—into the Governor's chair.

True, Murphy had Edison's support as well as Hague's, but Murphy's defeat was interpreted in New Jersey as a repudiation of Hague, not of Edison. Such an interpretation makes sense in the light of the referendum vote, strictly a Hague-anti-Hague issue.

After three years in office Edison has retired to private life. He has materially weakened Hague's stranglehold on the people of New Jersey and has provided a favorable opportunity to launch, with federal help, a campaign of liberation. But Hague is still strongly entrenched, with his chief support found in Washington and in the Catholic Church, which he has played for all it is worth.

Hague, as usual, will control the New Jersey delegation to the Democratic National Convention this year, and the state's 16 electoral votes look mighty good to the boys in Washington. Hague depends on his potential power in the convention to stave off any possible federal investigation of his bailiwick at this time.

As for the Catholic Church, it is no secret that Hague has curried favor with the hierarchy for years. He actively supports Catholic charitable drives to the

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extent of assessing his jobholders for contributions. He imported an altar from Italy and donated it to one of the leading churches of the city. He encourages parochial schools. He has not built a new public school in Jersey City in many years. But even more important, perhaps, he provides jobs—and the overwhelming majority of jobholders in Jersey City are Irish Catholics, all beholden to Hague. About two dozen priests are on the city payroll as chaplains.

Nor has Hague overlooked Protestant and Jewish support. There are eight or nine ministers and two rabbis on the Hague public payroll.

Priests, clergymen and rabbis have openly supported Hague, and have spoken in his behalf. Rabbi Benjamin Plotkin, of Congregation Emanu-El, is the only Jewish religious leader who has ever dared to speak out for civil liberties from any pulpit in Hudson County. Of course, Plotkin had to pay for his rashness. He was evicted from the Jewish Community Center, where his congregation used to meet, by a group of influential Jews who were afraid the community would think they were Communists. That was in the days when Hague was fighting "the dirty Reds." Today Boss Hague sleeps in the same political bed with them.

Hague still points with pride to his "accomplishments," number one of which is his $16,000,000 Medical Center, towering over the slums of Jersey City. It is a fine building to look at and doctors seem to consider it efficient. The Boss never tires of his boast that Jersey City is free of prostitution, and that "your daughter, your wife or your sister can walk the streets without being molested." That boast, incidentally, is true. Of course Hague says nothing about the betting parlors in his county, or the numbers racket, which flourishes under Hague police protection. He says nothing about how his political machine benefits from those rackets, nor how he uses number men, runners, etc., as repeaters and floaters at the polls. He says nothing about jobholders kicking back three percent of their wages into the Hague-organization treasury.

Hague has always been able to do amazing things with a ballot box. Voting strength in Hudson County has little relation to population. Even though the population drops, the votes go up. Example:

In 1930, the population of Hudson County was 690,730. There were 295,558 registered voters.

In 1940, the population had dropped to 652,000, a decrease of 7 percent. Yet the number of registered voters was 376,469, or an *increase* of 35 percent!

President Roosevelt, by a nod of the head, can break Hagueism. Such a gesture, coming at a time when the free peoples of the world are united against fascism, would make the Four Freedoms, which FDR himself helped to draft, a reality for the oppressed people of one section of the USA, who have been deprived of them for more than a quarter of a century. If Hagueism is to be fought on the level of partisan politics (which it needn't be) it is almost a certainty that the Republicans will make it a national issue to beat Roosevelt this year. FDR can do the job for Hudson County and for the nation at the same time. He does not have to rely on Republicans to scrub clean a Democratic escutcheon.

The people of Hudson County have appealed to their government for relief. The American people look for the presidential nod that will set in motion the machinery of justice (at the direction of the Attorney General) that can smash Hagueism.

WILLARD WIENER

Magician

Tall in his top hat, tall and alone in the room
Or aerial music, electric light
And the click of tables, the Mephistophelian man
Toys with a wand and the wonders happen—for whom?
And to what end the gleam of the shellacked
Trick within trick, as plain as black and white,
And all too clever, all too matter-of-fact
Like the sudden neatness of a shutting fan?

And somewhat sinister, like a millionaire
Or a poet or a street-corner quack
With a dollar bottle of cure. . . . We are drawn to his eye
Only to stop at the eye we dare not dare;
We suspect and believe; *he* looks us out of face
And seems to say that magic is the knack
Of showing the result without a trace
Of the cause, end without means, what without why.

If now the amusing audience could see
His mangy unicorn that crops
The shabby velvet of his weariness,
An inch from the abyss of villainy,
The applause would freeze, the dust settle like snow,
And long before the asbestos curtain drops
Even the children would get up to go,
Be sick in the lobby, sob with young distress;

But fortunately they cannot. We proceed
Beyond the fire-eating, doves,
Padlocks, confetti, disappearing ropes,
To personal murder, the necessary deed
Of sawing a woman in half. We want her heart.
The sable executioner in gloves
Labors, but *hoc est corpus!* quite apart
She stands; we applaud our disappointed hopes.

And backstage somewhere, peeling his mustache,
He muses that he is an honest man
And wonders dramatically why. Deep in his ear
At times there sounds the subterranean plash
Of Alf and Phlegeton where tides revolve
With eyes of evil. There he first began;
There is the task he can no longer solve
But only wait for till his dying year.

KARL SHAPIRO

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Washington Notes

Dewey and His Party

GOV. THOMAS E. DEWEY has been seeing Washington correspondents and telling them that he wants to take the isolationist tag from the Republicans. He has left the impression with Albany callers that he will accept if nominated and serve if elected. Now, it appears, the time has come to take his candidacy a little further out of wraps—and accordingly he has taken up the international issue.

Governor Dewey advocated a GOP educational campaign on foreign policy, Dewey L. Fleming, Washington bureau chief of The Baltimore Sun, reported on January 21, "in a recent conversation with this correspondent." The Governor sought to eliminate what Mr. Fleming described as the "lingering remnants of the popular impression that it is the party of isolationism." According to Mr. Fleming, Governor Dewey wants leading Republicans to make 10 or 12 addresses in various parts of the country to meet the "smear" campaign of the New Dealers.

Now this is extraordinarily interesting because the Governor is one of the leading contestants for the Republican nomination and because, in 1940, reporters generally put down Mr. Dewey himself as isolationist in tendency. Edward R. Stettinius in his book, "Lend-Lease," has just recalled that Mr. Dewey first opposed, then swung round to support, lend-lease. It is encouraging, of course, to find that the favorite candidate of the GOP king-makers now believes that the party must accept the collaborationist line, already strongly supported by Wendell Willkie. The trouble lies in the GOP record.

First of all, you remember, there was that little incident about the League of Nations and Warren G. Harding. But let's skip that and get down to recent times. At the start of the war there were five congressional votes of crucial importance. They came on repeal of the arms embargo, passage of the lend-lease bill, adoption of the draft law, extension of training under the draft law, and final neutrality-act revision. Every one of these laws was vital to America's defense. Every one of them was fundamental to the defeat of the Axis abroad. And on every one of them the Republicans voted wrong—not in one house but in both.

Here is the Republican voting record:

Repeal of the arms embargo: House—21 for, 143 against; Senate—8 for, 15 against.

Passage of lend-lease: House—24 for, 135 against; Senate—10 for, 17 against.

Draft-act adoption: House—52 for, 112 against; Senate—8 for, 10 against.

Extension of draft training: House—21 for, 133 against; Senate—13 for, 17 against.

Final neutrality-act revision: House—22 for, 137 against; Senate—6 for, 21 against.

The foregoing is an overwhelming record of isolationist opposition. It is the contribution of the elected GOP members to their party's 1944 presidential candidate.

I do not really think, of course, that most Republicans in Congress are so much isolationists as they are Roosevelt-haters. But the isolationist wing of the party is a real fact. Furthermore, a Republican victory would probably bring back into power many of the high-tariff interests associated with the party, actually more dangerous, perhaps, than Bertie McCormick.

A year ago the AP got replies from 54 Senators as to whether they were ready to commit the country to an international police force. This straw vote showed a bare majority of Democrats for the proposal. The Republicans voted decisively: 5 "yes," 16 "no."

And now let me set down my impressions of a tour of Congress one day last week. It is the kind of first-hand experience that must be weighed against the ambiguous phrases of the Mackinac Island resolution.

First of all, we are looking down on the Senate. Republican Hugh Butler is making another attack on the administration's Latin American policy. By a coincidence it falls on the publication date of a second Butler anti-administration article in The Reader's Digest. Butler is a large, stooping individual, with iron-gray hair, who is stumbling through his manuscript to about 20 Senators. He pays lip-service to the "good-neighbor" policy, but is making charges of alleged United States expenditures of "$6,396,760,504" in Latin America that are as fantastically incorrect as his earlier charges, which Cordell Hull declared injured our policy. Mr. Butler has got a local firm of chartered accountants to "certify" his figures, but it turns out that all they have certified is that two and two make four: in other words, that a lot of statistics which they do not authenticate and did not compile, add up to a given sum. The phony total seems to be achieved by a system of concealed duplications in which one item is added in several times.

From this discouraging scene we pass to the House in time to hear Republican Jessie Sumners of Illinois and Republican Ham Fish of New York and Republican Edith N. Rogers of Massachusetts denounce the committee's UNRRA proposal. Miss Sumners wears black with long lace at her cuffs, like Louis XIV, and she places her right hand akimbo on her ample hip and lifts her left hand with painted fingertips straight up as she makes the rafters ring with her scraping, screaming charge that UNRRA relief money will help make Stalin "dictator of Europe."

Miss Sumners' speech is no surprise, but the applause that comes from the Republican side as she stalks from the microphone is frankly astonishing. I shall remember that burst of applause long after the votes are counted that show the Republicans technically approve UNRRA.

Now it is 3 p. m., and time to go over and hear the ex-Republican Mayor of Akron, and ex-Gannett campaign manager, C. Nelson Sparks, explain at a press conference about his smear-Willkie book, and how the alleged forgeries got into it.

You will see, gentle reader, by this time, what I am trying to say. I shall not stress the matter. It is encouraging that Governor Dewey in his expanding candidacy sees the importance, as the first step, of disinfecting his party. The more aid he gets from fellow Republicans, the better.

Washington T. R. B.

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Digges and Anderson

Storm Operation, by Maxwell Anderson. Belasco Theatre, January 11, 1944.
Listen, Professor! by Alexander Afinogenov. Translated from the Russian by J. J. Robbins and adapted by Peggy Phillips. Forrest Theatre, December 21, 1943.

MR. MAXWELL ANDERSON'S NEWEST PLAY is an interesting case of the relation of material to the final dramatic result or form. From press releases foretelling of "Storm Operation" I gathered that the playwright had been given ample opportunity in more places than one to study the life of our fighting men and provided with whatever information or association he required. Be that as it may, this play about the war never bothers us for a minute except in two or three instances when some human element appears in the moment or the actor. The first half of it is by no means so dull and impossible as I had been led one way or another to believe. I found it quite entertaining in fact and often truly comic, with jolly phrases and familiar, reliable soldier witticisms and humorous reactions to that North African part of the world you find yourself in.

I was never moved really, and certainly never thrilled, but I was very agreeably diverted, which is saying a good deal this season. There were the men under First Sgt. Pete Moldau about to set out in the invasion barge, there were the camp scenes, the fantastic Arabs and Mabrouka, the Arab wife that Simeon, the Technical Sergeant, had bought for himself, and there was the border-line constantly present between the obscenities of army talk and the respectable limits for stage talk—I must say that from the speed with which the audience caught the indelicacies you might have thought military service had long been observed throughout the land.

So far so good, tragedy mildly mixed with comedy. Then begins the love story. Two nurses arrive, one of them formerly related to Peter in the beginnings of a genuine love. He had been sent elsewhere; and she had thought no permanent bond was possible, and so had given herself to this soldier and that, since none of them knew when his life would be snuffed out, so what did it matter? This is an old wheeze about sex, and phony enough, since the case can never be as simple as that. It would be admissible only if the dramatist showed the girl as partially deluding herself or as in some mad, tragic desperation; otherwise we have only highty-tighty, talky nonsense. This young lady, Lt. Thomasina Grey, is at the moment Captain Sutton's "girl"; he is British, Peter's superior in rank and experience and tends toward the expected arrogance, though he comes round later, quite as expectedly. Peter carries out his sincere intentions and before the next landing raid persuades Thomasina to marry him, and with the chaplain delayed, the service is read—yes—by the British rival.

All that portion of the play gets off the track into soft regions of easy drama. It fails through lack of imagination in the business of finding truly expressive forms or motifs, the absence in sum of the necessary creative invention.

Nevertheless, within these non-violent limits, "Storm Operation" is worth seeing. Within these never pressing or ambitious limits it is well directed, well set and well enough acted. Mr. Cy Howard and Mr. Charles Ellis, as the Technical Sergeants, and Mr. Bramwell Fletcher as the British officer, give entirely competent performances. Miss Gertrude Musgrove plays Thomasina with much intelligence but with too much insistence to be really moving or significantly human. Her heroine analyzes matters so readily and confidently (and this combined with the frequent banalities she has to express) that we give nothing very much to her one way or the other and care little about her affairs. Even a simple intensity stumbling around through the motivations would serve the play's situation better than this willful capacity within the banal.

Mr. Myron McCormick always brings to a role a sound study, technical security and intelligence. As Peter, the First Sergeant, he could, if the surrounding material were provided by the author, easily be the center of a genuine folk drama and war drama.

"Listen, Professor!" is a harmless and gently agreeable play that might be said to serve two purposes. First it gives us a chance to see a beautiful, wise and witty performance by Mr. Dudley Digges. He plays the old scholar, famous and buried in his researches, to whose peaceful home a granddaughter of fifteen is returned. With her are finally included his favorite pupil, now successful, et cetera, an opera singer, and granddaughter's schoolmates ready to burst with the new Russian youthfulness. In the end the girl's mother, who has been long misjudged by her father-in-law, comes to take her daughter back and is, for the last curtain, understood by the old man and invited to remain—quite in the vein of Little Lord Fauntleroy and the old Earl and Dearest, the little lord's mother. Mr. Digges's performance has all the care, the vivid rightness of feeling and the fine taste in the nuances and stage business that we expect from this actor.

The second service that this play offers is the consideration of the problem as to how on our stage for our audiences we can interpret, or present, in general this particular brand of Russian comedy. The difficulty lies in the fact that forwardish or revolutionary themes and faiths and declarations are introduced which no doubt the Russians take in their stride, but which so far for us tend to appear either as strongly solemn or as playful or farcical. Evidently none of this bothers the Russians. For us very likely the best thing to do with such a piece is to take it, so far as we can, as we do "The Cricket on the Hearth" or "Rip Van Winkle."

STARK YOUNG

The Bandwagon

"I have been told that, in many quarters of India, it is still held that we only made our offer in the time of our reverses and would no longer stand by it when victory was once assured but would begin to whittle it away or withdraw it" he [L. S. Amery, Secretary of the State for India], said. "There could be no more complete understanding of our whole outlook and purpose." – *From The Montreal Daily Herald.*

After a happy marriage comes what? Why, little tomato juice dumplings like these, of course. – *From an advertisement in the New York Times Sunday magazine.*

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Bernie Vos has sold his residence at 201 East Morris Street to Jake Van Dyke, and the Vos family will move into the house they purchased recently from Will H. Burch, as soon as the George Bechtel family moves into Mrs. William Aldritt's residence vacated last week by the Glenn Noonan family, which Mrs. Aldritt bought a short time ago. – *From The Whiteside (Ill.) Sentinel.*

Rugged Individualism

And if in the end I poison myself by eating the wrong kind of food, or cut my throat by using the wrong kind of razor blade, or freeze to death by sleeping under the wrong kind of blanket, I shall go to my reward secure in the knowledge that I have lived and died as a free-born American should. – *Rep. Charles A. Halleck of Indiana speaking against grade labeling before the Advertisers' Club of Cincinnati, as quoted in PM.*

Just in Time

The building employees of the University of Minnesota have voted to strike on January 15. Consequently our shipping service may be interrupted. We suggest that you order your immediate requirements at once.

READY

Tyler FREEDOM'S FERMENT—Publication Date, Jan. 13.
– *Postcard sent out by The University of Minnesota Press.*

Don't Look Now

In one sense the retreat in the east is welcomed by the German soldier, who was beginning to feel lost in the Russian steppes, and by the women at home, who had long hoped for a closer front so their men could have more leaves. However, the fact that the Russians are coming west with the Germans is an extremely uncomfortable thought. – *From The Christian Science Monitor.*

On the Home Front

Howard Rathbun, 51, an automotive engineer, received a suspended sentence of a year and a day yesterday after a jury found him guilty of making an inflammatory statement against President Roosevelt. Patrolman Eugene D. Carter, a neighbor, overheard Rathbun's remarks last September 28 that the "whole bunch in Washington should be lined up against a wall and shot. Roosevelt is the worst of all."

In suspending sentence for an offense against the President of the United States, Federal Judge Frank Picard said he didn't believe Rathbun meant the statements. Judge Picard said many people prominent socially and in business life made remarks similar to Rathbun's. – *From The Pittsburgh Press.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Wages and Living Costs

SIR: The repeated wage crises through which we have been passing have been forced on the President and the country by the power of the inflation bloc in Congress, which has made it impossible to stabilize the cost of living although wages have been stabilized for about a year.

When the Little Steel formula was first announced back in September, 1942, the cost of living had risen 15 percent since January 1, 1941, so that it was reasonable to permit wage increases up to that amount and prevent them beyond that figure. There was a definite understanding that the cost of living, too, would be stabilized. But by various means Congress has prevented that from being accomplished, so that the cost of living has continued to rise until it is, not 15 percent but 25 percent, above January 1, 1941. Hence labor feels justified in demanding more pay.

Clearly the fair thing to do is to keep increases in wage rates equal to increases in the cost of living and prevent further increases in the cost of living by subsidies when necessary. This is Canada's policy, and it has proved successful and efficient.

New York City ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

How to Eradicate Nazism

SIR: I find it very disturbing to observe a growing tendency in this country to make the German people as a whole responsible for Nazism and its evil deeds. With the longer duration of the war and the mounting sacrifices, this phenomenon may be only too natural. It is no less alarming, however, for there is grave danger that the peace will be made on this basis.

Up to very recentlly, public-opinion polls have shown consistently that almost a three-quarter majority of the American people discriminate clearly between the German people and the Nazis. When I ask whether a change of this attitude is taking place, I am not thinking of systematic German-haters like Lord Vansittart, nor of vengeful "liberal" refugees like Mr. Schwarzschild, nor of superficial intellectuals like Mr. Emil Ludwig. But, to take a representative example, even Professor Sheldon Glueck says, concerning the German responsibility, that "the moral guilt is all-inclusive and organic" ("Punishing the War Criminals," The New Republic, November 22). And there is an increasing number of spokesmen of all kinds who advocate the total economic and political crippling of Germany with that verdict as a justification.

The fact that we are at war with Germany tends to make the American people forget that the Germans were the first victims of Hitler, that in a free election Hitler never received so much as a third of the votes of the German electorate, and that an unprecedentedly terroristic regime was needed to establish and defend the Nazi dictatorship. It should be obvious that we shall not be able to eradicate German fascism without the coöperation of the German people. Looking over the universal record of appeasement, we may be quite sure that the United Nations will not develop the moral courage and consistency to carry through a purge of Nazism in Germany. It is not generally recognized that the punishment of the war criminals is only a minor part of the solution to this problem. Is there a basis to arraign for war atrocities men like Ribbentrop, Schacht, Neurath and Papen? And what about the lesser Nazis and the Nazis-at-heart in the landed aristocracy, the big monopolies and the high civil service?

Only with the help of the progressive elements within Germany can we hope to rid Germany of the cancer of fascism. Only the Germans know all the guilty; only they are in a position to draw the dividing line between responsible leaders and misguided followers. Without that help we shall never get more than individual vengeance, possibly on a European scale, plus the trials of relatively few top Nazis. And the atmosphere of Europe would remain poisoned for generations. Therefore, the Germans themselves must punish the Nazis, and the United Nations

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should solemnly proclaim that they will not recognize a German government unless it makes punishment of the Nazis its primary concern.

Such a proclamation would be a powerful weapon of political warfare, while it would commit the United Nations to but one thing: not to accept a German Darlan. The punishment of the war criminals according to the Moscow Declaration would be a part in the all-out plan to destroy Nazism with its roots. It is important to note that this policy is not based on a wishful theory about the undercover strength of the democratic forces within Germany, since we should leave it to them to prove themselves first. There is no other way that would lead to the rehabilitation of the German nation—without which there can be no community of nations in Europe.

Chicago, Ill. WALTER. W. MARSEILLE

The Soldiers' Vote

SIR: Apropos of the fight over the soldiers' vote, you may be interested in publishing this letter in your communications columns:

RICHARD HOFSTADTER

The University of Maryland, College Park, Md.

[ENCLOSURE]

Executive Mansion
Washington, September 19, 1864

Major General Sherman:

The State election of Indiana occurs on the 11th of October and the loss of it to the friends of the Government would go far towards losing the whole Union cause. The bad effect upon the November election, and especially the giving the State government to those who will oppose the war in any possible way, are too much to risk if it can be avoided. The draft proceeds, notwithstanding its strong tendency to lose us the State. Indiana is the only important State voting in October whose soldiers cannot vote in the field. Anything you can safely do to let her soldiers or any part of them go home and vote at the State election will be greatly in point. They need not remain for the Presidential election, but may return to you at once. This is in no sense an order, but is merely intended to impress you with the importance to the army itself of your doing all you safely can, yourself being the judge of what you can safely do.

Yours truly,
A. LINCOLN

My Choice for President

[The letters published below were written in response to an inquiry from The New Republic asking each author what individual would be his personal choice for President. Other groups will appear in subsequent issues. – THE EDITORS]

SIR: My candidate for President would be a man in the late forties or early fifties, with experience in government, preferably a man who had successfully governed an American state. He would never have been a prosecutor or a general. He would be a progressive-conservative. He would never refer to his opponent as "That Man." He would have none of the qualities of the upstart. He would be without the slightest talents of the demagogue. He would not be anti-labor, anti-industrialist, or anti-any race. He would support the Teheran agreement, and actively participate in the maintenance of peace. He would not be in the least afraid of the Soviet Union. He would have complete confidence in the American people, the American Constitution and the American productive capacity, and dedicate his policies to rebuilding America into a high condition of employment, prosperity and social security—in the order named. He would work to achieve the unity of all classes in this purpose. He would subscribe to the Nine-Point program of Beardsley Ruml. He would be allergic to pressure groups and social workers. He would be responsive to all creative ideas and energies. He would be a builder, primarily, and a reformer only in the course of rebuilding. He would not care whether he was ever reëlected.

New York City DOROTHY THOMPSON

P. S. He would be. D. T.

SIR: Though I was affiliated with the Republican Party (the William Allen White variety) in Kansas City, Missouri, for many years, I will support Franklin D. Roosevelt for the presidency in 1944. I do this not because he is the indispensable man, but because he is the best qualified of the available. He has had these long years of experience in the presidency. His background and experience are such that he is best equipped to handle the immediate problems having to do with the winning of the war expeditiously and the winning of a decent and durable peace.

My choice for the vice-presidency is Wendell Willkie, who would be in a position to succeed President Roosevelt if fate decreed a change.

New York City L. M. BIRKHEAD

SIR: My candidate for President in 1944 is Franklin Delano Roosevelt. My reason for this decision is that he is the only United States citizen of equal natural gifts who has been in the position to get his unique experience in the science of government, the art of politics and the gamble of war.

The President we select in 1944 will be at the center of all the forces of reconstruction in this country and of the world. Therefore, I think we should let no precedent stand in the way of our taking the best equipped and most proved public servant that we have.

This is a year when we should revert to the spirit of the founding fathers and choose the President, not for his party but for the preëminent place he has made for himself in the American community. Roosevelt is our contemporary Washington.

New York City FRANK KINGDON

From The New Republic Mail Bag

C. L. V. Meeks, assistant professor of the History of Art at Yale University and secretary-treasurer of the American Society of Architectural Historians, writes to comment on two recent articles by Paul and Percival Goodman. He expresses his appreciation of "Architecture in Wartime" [The New Republic, December 20]. In regard to the review of "Task" [The New New Republic, January 3], Mr. Meeks calls the attention of the Goodman brothers, who asked for "a place for good articles on the theory, history and esthetics" of architecture, to the quarterly Journal of the American Society of Architectural Historians and also to the British journal, Architectural Review, of London. "It is entirely possible," he says, "that there is room in this country for another magazine which will combine some of the features of The Journal of the American Society of Architectural Historians, Task and The Architectural Review. It might have as the keystone of its policy the fearless critical standards so shamefully lacking here at present and which occasional articles and scattered publications do little to remedy. Since 'men mold buildings and buildings mold men,' the need for widespread discussion of architectural matters is not a problem to be solved by the architect alone or the historian, but is a public responsibility."

Mrs. Ethel Clyde of New York City writes to protest the review of Ely Culbertson's "Total Peace," by Albert Guérard [The New Republic, December 27]. Mrs. Clyde feels that "the review was written with an emotional bias which necessarily detracts from its value."

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THESE WORDS ARE MEANT FOR THE LIVING . .

There is a popular song in Europe that runs: "When Jewish blood spurts from the knife/Then all goes twice as well!" If you can join the Nazis in the singing, this message is not addressed to you. Men and women have died, have watched their friends, their kinsmen, their children die, with that song ringing in their ears. We ask you to listen to it, not for ten years, not for as many hours, but for a minute. We ask you to imagine yourself routed out of your home, refused every comfort except, after torture, death, while the song goes on. We did not ask you to listen in order to make you hate the oppressor, or lament the dead. You can forget the millions who suffered and perished for no crime but the fact that they were born Jews. Listen now and remember only those still living in Europe, because, if you will it, they may be saved. As these words were being written, while they were being printed, the slaughter was going on. It continues, systematically, thoroughly, even as you read. You can stop it. These words are meant for the living.

There are a number of ways in which further suffering and death can be prevented. Certain practical steps can be taken at once. They are the suggestions of a group of Americans who have given careful thought to the problems involved. These men and women: public servants and students of public affairs, journalists, judges, educators, plain citizens of good will, met together recently to explore ways and means of rescue. The recommendations of this Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe are given below.

PRACTICAL STEPS

¶ A special Government agency should be created by the United States, charged with the task of saving the Jews of Europe. The other members of the United Nations should, of course, be invited to participate, but the problem is too urgent to await their assent.

¶ The Axis and its satellites should be urged, by the International Red Cross, by the Vatican, by neutral countries, to guarantee that forced deportations and executions of Jews cease at once, and that Jews receive food and medical supplies equally with other people.

¶ Following the precedent established in feeding the people of Greece, special arrangements should be made for shipping food and medical supplies to the Jews of Europe.

¶ Axis-controlled countries should be urged to permit Jews to leave their territory.

¶ Civilian internees with Axis sympathies now under Allied control should be exchanged for potential victims now under enemy control.

¶ Neutrals should be urged to grant transit facilities to Jewish refugees en route to territory controlled by the United Nations.

¶ Neutrals: Sweden, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, should be urged to grant temporary asylum to Jews escaping Axis-controlled territory. The governments of the United Nations should assist in providing food, clothing, and financial aid for these refugees, and should arrange for their evacuation from neutral countries to other places of refuge.

¶ Facilities now available without interfering with the war effort should be used in transporting Jews to places of refuge. Among these facilities are road and rail communications operating between Axis-held territory and Turkey, and between Turkey and territory controlled by the United Nations; also road and rail communications operating between Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, and Axis-controlled territory. Available neutral shipping can transport 50,000 persons a month: a much greater number can be transported by road and rail.

¶ Neutral shipping now lying idle in United Nations ports and idle tonnage of neutral registry in other ports should be used for the work of rescue.

¶ The South American States should be approached to discover how many Jewish refugees, evacuated through European neutrals, they will receive, either for the duration or longer, and what arrangements can be made for the immediate entry of these people.

¶ Palestine should be opened at once to Jews fleeing the Nazi terror, irrespective of quota limits set by the British White Paper.

¶ The United Nations should grant temporary asylum in territories under their control to Jews escaping from Axis-held countries.

¶ There should be prompt revision of regulations concerning visas, so as to permit refugees from enemy-controlled territory to enter neutral countries and Allied-controlled territory.

Ways and means exist for rescuing these men, women and children. What is wanting is but the will to save them. Just for a moment imagine yourself: you, and not another, in the position of those who face torture and death now. Just for a moment consider what it means to face the torture and death of children who are close to you. Your government may be slow to act. But remember that it will be just as slow, and just as quick, as you allow it to be. We call on you, the living, to help only the living. (From "Only the Living," by Babette Deutsch, a pamphlet published by this Committee.)

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Books in Review

The Führer's Followers

I HOPE that a great many people will read "Der Führer,"[1] and read it carefully in spite of its faults. The book is sometimes confusing, not seldom repetitious, and it is padded out with familiar material until it is too long by at least a third. In the rest of the volume, however, the author has something new to say: that Hitler was not the creator, not even the guide of Nazism. In the beginning at least, he was merely its creature. Heiden tells us that we scarcely need ask "with what arts he conquered the masses; he did not conquer them; he portrayed and represented them. . . . Like a piece of wood floating on the waves, he follows the shifting currents of public opinion."

Accordingly, Heiden has written something more than a mere biography of the Leader. His principal task is to describe the state of the German masses after the last war, to trace the currents of opinion and to portray the individuals by whom Hitler was discovered and, in a sense, created. Many of these individuals belonged to a small, self-pitying but powerful class: the former lieutenants, captains and majors of the Kaiser's army. The generals either had posts in the new Reichswehr or else they had retired with comfortable pensions, which they were not disposed to risk by open rebellion. The lower officers, however, formed a group of 200,000 men with little or nothing to lose. They were walking the streets, they were selling insurance that nobody wanted to buy, they were brawling in taverns; and meanwhile the desperate spirits among them were plotting to gain control of the government so that they could all have jobs again, have rank and uniforms and, in the future, another glorious war.

These men who would organize and lead the Storm Troopers were like the wastrels who conspired with Catiline. Their future leader, Ernest Röhm, was a former captain with half his nose shot away and a bullet hole in his cheek; his two avocations were committing murders and writing sentimental verse. He had the one virture of loyalty to his comrades, but his friend Count Helldorf lacked even that; besides his other crimes, he ended by spying on Röhm for the Gestapo. All the men in their circle were "175's"; that is, they were open to prosecution under Article 175 of the Reich's Penal Code, which dealt with homosexuality. Many of them were morphine addicts, more were drunkards and some were hired assassins. They were the sort of men who appear when any protracted conflict ends in the disintegration of an army—the freebooters, the *Reiter*, the *soldatesque;* there are words for them in all languages, but nothing that expresses their utter demoralization.

In order to overthrow the government, these former officers had to find allies in the proletariat. In order to find those allies, they had to put forward a leader who could appeal to the public at large. "An officer wouldn't do," said the drunken poet Dietrich Eckart, who was one of their friends, "because the people don't respect you any more. Best of all would be a workman in a soldier's coat and with his tongue in the right place. He needn't be very brainy; politics is the most imbecilic business in the world. But he must be a bachelor, for then we shall get the women." As soon as Adolf Hitler made his first beer-hall speech, the former officers knew they had found their man.

He was a corporal who had fought in the List Regiment and was then working as a political spy and stool pigeon for the Reichswehr; that was all they knew about him at the time. If they had known the rest—that his family had a rather bad reputation in his native Linz; that Hitler himself had been a none too bright and extremely lazy student; that for years he had slept in Vienna lodging houses and earned his living by painting postcards—the officers probably wouldn't have changed their minds. There is not much to be learned about Adolf Hitler, even by a historian like Heiden who has spent twenty years studying the National Socialist movement and its leader. He was not a homosexual like Röhm or a morphine addict like Goering or a drunkard like Ley; except for the masochism displayed in his love affairs, his principal vices in those early years were laziness, indecision, eating too much candy and sitting up late—the sins of a spoiled child. The officers regarded him originally as a nonentity with a voice; and that was exactly what they needed at the time. As Heiden says, "They found their leader in the lowest mass of their subordinates, and commanded him to command."

I have purposely followed only one of the threads in Heiden's story. He makes it clear that other social elements helped to spread the Hitler myth, and he discusses the part played by each of them. University students, he thinks, were among the most fervent Nazis, partly because they hoped that Hitler would give them jobs, but also because of their need to believe in something outside themselves, even something evil. Often he speaks of the Third Reich as being created by the "armed intellectuals," a term that might lead to confusion in this country. Here we apply the word "intellectual" to a studious and usually liberal minority of college graduates—exactly the sort of people who opposed Hitler at the cost of being imprisoned or driven into exile. As for the German capitalists, Heiden insists that the part they played in destroying the Weimar Republic has been misunderstood and exaggerated. Some of them helped the Nazis from the beginning, but these were lonely figures and most of the industrial leaders preferred to deal with other parties. It was not until January 4, 1933, that a consortium of heavy industrialists undertook to put Hitler's finances in order. On the other hand, Heiden shows that this support came at a critical moment, when the Nazis were believed to be on the edge of failure. Three weeks later they were ruling Germany.

They owed less to the financiers, however, than they did to the confusion and despair of the German masses. At every successive crisis they increased their popular vote. One such turning point was the passage of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff, which spread panic over Europe; thus we

[1] Der Führer: Hitler's Rise to Power, by Konrad Heiden. Translated by Ralph Manheim. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 786 pages. $3.

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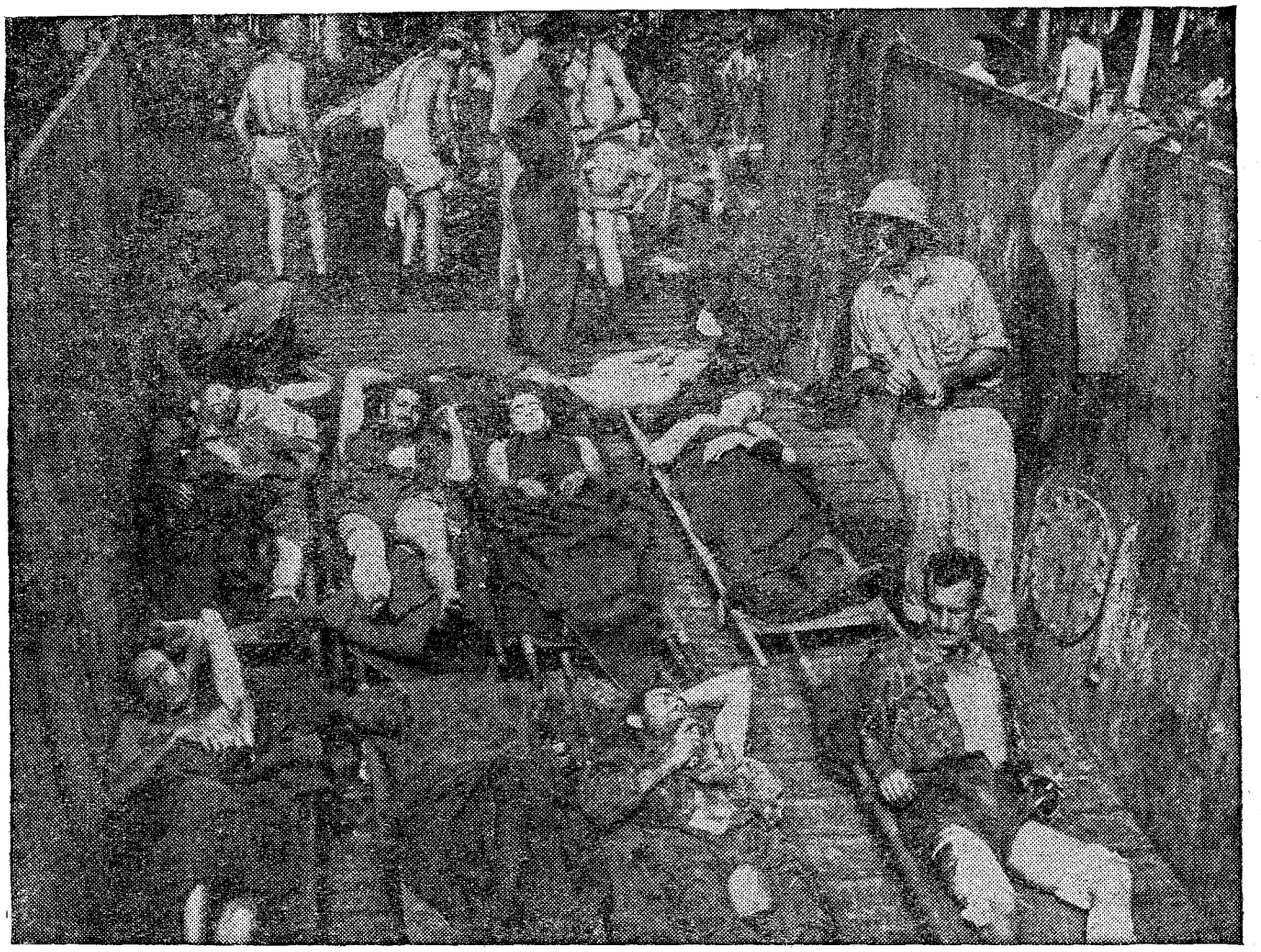

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contributed our share to Hitler's victory. Another was the failure of the Darmstädter und Nationalbank, when the government had to declare a general moratorium and millions of workers went without their pay. Hitler said, "Never in my life have I been so well disposed and inwardly contented."

But of all the themes that Heiden brings together, the story of the former officers is the most dramatic. After Hitler seized power, they swaggered through the streets where they had once wandered looking for work. They robbed Jewish merchants and tortured their private enemies as well as the Communists. Worst of all, from Hitler's point of view, they frightened the business community by talking about the Second Revolution. He might have disarmed and discharged them, but instead he slaughtered them by hundreds, in the blood purge of June 30, 1934. Then, speaking before the Reichstag, he pronounced their epitaph, saying that they were people who, "who realizing it, had found their profession of faith in nihilism." They were also people who had created a monster, and the monster had destroyed them. MALCOLM COWLEY

The Ill and Ailing

The Lost Weekend, by Charles Jackson. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 244 pages. $2.50.
Cone of Silence, by A. Fleming MacLiesh. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 500 pages. $2.75.
The Signpost, by E. Arnot Robertson. New York: The Macmillan Company. 240 pages. $2.50.

A DIPSOMANIAC; a mooning expatriate and his mad wife; a wounded RAF man paralyzed by fear and his refugee mistress callous with sorrow: these are the problems in collapse which the novels under consideration attempt to describe. Each of these characters, in effect, ruminates with Don Birnam, the drunk of "The Lost Weekend," that "he was only one of several million persons of his generation who had grown up and, somewhere around thirty, made the upsetting discovery that life wasn't going to pan out. . . ." Yet to the question from "Hamlet" which Mr. Jackson poses on his title page:

> And can you, by no drift of circumstance,
> Get from him why he puts on this confusion,
> Grating so harshly all his days of quiet
> With turbulent and dangerous lunacy?

no one gives an adequate answer. Mr. Jackson hardly tries, Mr. MacLiesh is not a novelist and Miss Robertson is happy to be glib.

"The Lost Weekend" is the most satisfactory of these novels, and, on the documentary level, could no doubt earn an M.A. in psychology from an amiable university. Yet the mere history of a dipsomaniac does have this academic limitation, and when it is dumped into a novel, meagerness is inevitable. Don Birnam is an utterly plausible character; his infantilism, his delusions, his tastes and his affections, his needs, his rationalizations—all exhibit a scrupulosity of observation or a brilliance of intuition in the author which is admirable. Don Birnam *should* admire both Shakespeare and Scott Fitzgerald; this, like everything in the characterization, is perfect. Yet none of it is enough. Gatsby, after all, was The Sad Rich Man, and Dick Diver, like Fitzgerald himself, was The Crack-up, or The Sad Young Man; it is the great triumph of Fitzgerald's life that, like the lives of his characters, it had suggestiveness. But in "The Lost Weekend," for all the author's care and in spite of occasional patches of excitement, one reaches a point very soon where the sickness of Don Birnam becomes tiresome because it tells us nothing about the sickness of his world.

The sickness of the world is the explicit theme of "Cone of Silence," a great bore of a novel intent on reviewing what its author has read (a good deal, and he should read it all again), and on revealing his sensitivity to political events ten years after they happen. The novel is a feeble excuse for collecting the miscellanies of an undistinguished European experience of the thirties. Endless discussions and reflections between and about absolutists and relativists form the bulk of the book, and while I do not remember that Mr. MacLiesh includes the motheaten tree that still falls in the empty forest, one's impression is that this is all really going on between the hours of two and three a. m. in a dormitory. Against this background, the irresponsible little story takes its halting course: a mysterious American named Michael (no last name), determined to rescue a mysterious girl named Lisa from "the shadow" (contemporary history) which hangs over her, wins her from her authoritarian fiancé; she presently goes insane (again, the fatal Fitzgerald yardstick!), recovers, and is able, at last, with Michael, to face modern uncertainties.

In one of his lucid moments, Don Birnam thinks of the novel he will never write: "Like all his attempts at fiction it would be as personal as a letter—painful to those who knew him, of no interest to those who didn't." This would seem to be an adequate description of "Cone of Silence," which, like most personal narratives, fails wholly in expressiveness. It is instructive to compare, for example, Arthur Koestler's swift images of a ship in a neutral harbor or a café in white sunlight, startling evocations of a whole continent, with MacLiesh's interminable catalogues, descriptions and muddy reflections, which yield up nothing.

With relief one turns to E. Arnot Robertson's varnished wares, which, with ruddy cheer, also deal with "the cry of almost all our generation." Tom, the frightened airman, and Denyse, the emotionally immobilized Frenchwoman, are packed off to Ireland to take the spiritual cure. Miss Robertson becomes bogged down in the thick local color, however, and, except for occasional abrupt reminders that fear is her theme and regeneration her aim, and that love, even of this curiously sexless, upper-class variety, works wonders, achieves a popular novel about village life in Eire. We are not asked to take seriously Tom's remark to Denyse at the end: "This is my armor"; shadows do not need it.

If we cannot be encouraged by the handling in these novels, we may be by the matter; each, in its way, attempts an ambitious and absolutely central subject. For the important novel of this era will no doubt have as its background the totality of spiritual dislocation in the past thirty years, and as its theme, the violence that is done to personality by events. Even in this year we may say that the greater wars are not of nations but in men, and that one kind breeds another. MARK SCHORER

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83-Year Tantrum

The Complete Etchings of Goya. With a Foreword by Aldous Huxley. New York: Crown Publishers. 268 plates. $3.50.

THE CAPRICCIOS are the first of four series of etchings and lithographs that comprise Goya's later work—the others are the Disasters of the War, the Art of Bullfighting and the Proverbs. The Capriccios came out in 1803 when the artist was 53 years old, sold for about $25 and were dedicated to King Charles IV, who rewarded Goya for doing them. Goya, who was as lucid with words as with line, described this particular series in a prospectus:

> Believing that the criticism of human errors and vices, although first and foremost the business of rhetoric and poetry, may also come within the province of painting, the author has chosen as subjects of his work some of those extravagances and stupidities common to all classes of society, some of those prejudices and falsehoods hallowed by custom, by ignorance or by interest, such themes as seem to him to offer matter for ridicule and scope for the free play of the artist's imagination.

This describes what Goya did in each of the series of etchings save in the Art of Bullfighting, where he was depicting his own passion rather than the extravagance and stupidity of others.

Goya was wonderfully ironic and witty in his notations for each etching in The Capriccios. One that is titled "Vows" and shows a neophyte taking the vows to be a witch while straddling a donkey-man, is explained:

> Do you swear to obey your masters or those in authority . . . to honor them, to sweep, to spin, to beat drums, to howl, to yell, to cry, to cook, to suck, to bake, to roast and everything else whenever you are ordered? . . . I swear. . . . Very well, you are a witch, my dear. Congratulations!

The etchings of Goya are done completely within this feeling, as though the artist were saying, "Take heed of my description of your life and don't be such a damn fool"; or, "What a grim, wretched affair is this life around us!"

The consistent purity of Goya's hatred through his later works is an amazing fact in itself. He did 268 anecdotal etchings, different in one way or another, in the last half of his life, and save for the bullfights, each is an unrelenting criticism of human error and vice. The Capriccios are his lessons: in allegorical pictures he tells the people not to be greedy, nor to deceive, drink or spoil their children; not to be ignorant or superstitious, lazy, nor trust their women. "Indifference," says Goya, "and too much fondling make children naughty, greedy, lazy and unbearable. Here is a big, spoiled booby." He drew then an elderly Fauntleroyan monstrosity. "A woman who cannot take care of herself belongs to the first man who grabs her," Goya wrote—and drew her being soundly grabbed. "When there are no more feathers left, throw them out," said Goya. "Others will come," and the plucked roosters leave while the women start on the new ones.

In the first Capriccios, Goya can only show the people's corruptness and savagery realistically, or by making their faces as ugly as he can, or a little later by putting dogfaces on them. But midway in the series he turns them completely into animals and repeats the lesson. At the end of this series his loathing becomes more acutely directed: but it is in the war (when Napoleon marched his armies into

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Madrid) that for Goya the depravity and monstrousness of the people achieved its most savage state. Goya painted for whatever side was in power, but in his Disasters there is no currying favor, nor any of the usual war manifestations —the patriotism, politics, purpose, causes, goodness, reason and bravery. Goya etched the war wherever he could find the most awful display of it, where the dead were piled up like garbage, or where the murdering was most obscene. There is one group that seems to go together: in the first picture a man and woman are being hanged, but the limb of the tree they are hanging from is too low to allow the man's feet to swing clear; in the next picture, while the rope is still tied to his neck, two soldiers tug at his feet while a third plants one foot against the victim's neck and pushes with all his might; then in the third picture the man is taken down and castrated—the final title being, "What more can be done?"

Goya epitomizes all the pain, fear and degeneracy of human beings in his greatest and last work (he was 73), the Proverbs, where he sees men finally—and now with a passionate sorrow—as the inevitable but still filthily bestial victims of both themselves and the fury around them. And he envisions them, in one superb etching, as men tied to the neck in sacks, cowering among themselves but not helping one another, utterly defeated; while in another they sit, enigmatic and cold, huddled on the limb of a tree extending into darkness; and in another they are seen stubby and lewd, yipping and swinging about in a mad ring-around-the-rosy. These judgments are terrifying and magnificent.

Goya's hatred of mankind is the main expression in the self-portrait that he signed "Fran.co Goya y Lucientes, Pintor" and with which he began Los Caprichos. Where most self-portraitists endow their faces with a love of mankind, spiritual fervor or wise tolerance, Goya, rather self-consciously, depicts a petulant satirist, eyeing the other people with alarm and disgust. It is a good typical picture by Goya, in which everything is heavy and somewhat obvious—the lower lip, the top hat, the thrusting chin and the arrogance; it shows an art that is neither broad nor rich but has virile power and intensity; it shows how his devices are restricted to a greatly expressive line and a rather dry use of tone. The picture's design is not carried far, as though the artist were impatient and abrupt in his work. He has no capacity for juggling or arranging many objects or figures back and forth or up and down in his pictures; and the closer he can get the picture to one dominant mass, the more strength, certitude and unity it has. There is a dogged insistence in the self-portrait that is always present in Goya's best work, and pushes each of the pictures in which it appears, in spite of many limitations in his art, into an emotional experience for the spectator. Whereas Goya was, and considered himself to be, an earth-shattering power in his society, his art itself is actually on the tight, neat, detailed side; its literary basis makes for many disproportions in his work: discrepancies between story and realization, between one area of the picture and another, between the finicky, vital drawing and the flat vagueness of the tone, between his devouring interest in detail and his impatience when there is no more detail left and only background (or pictorial design), which he certainly neglected.

Against the failures arising from these discrepancies and the narrowness of his art Goya countered with three tremendous talents: he could draw everything equally well and give it a strong, human, living presence and an unmistakable human aroma; he had a dictionary awareness as to his people, their dress, manner and look and of all their variations; he had an imagination for incident that never ran dry and could hardly repeat itself. When his pictures were allegorical, Goya moved from naturalism to supernaturalism, to goats, donkey-people, chinchilla rats, and the witches and brownies (nice witches), and in either approach there is the definite human imprint, the unmistakable earmark of man. It is a matter of detail, of his driving deeper and harder into the idiosyncratic detail, so that it is realized at its most knobby, crooked or bent likeness. Goya's people are always doing something, and each time a new cast, in new clothes, from another section of society, walks on and does it. People, dress and action vary so wonderfully from picture to picture that at the end he seems to have covered the entire social scale of his time, from top to bottom and in every variation. His range of humanity is as broad and fertile as his knowledge and concern for environment are skimpy: his plays take place on undefined stages, against backdrops of air; occasionally a lone tree shows up, or the hazy definition of the concrete arches of a bridge.

There is a ladderlike progression in quality from the unemotional, literary state of the first Capriccios to the fervor and density of the despairing Proverbs. In the end, the story of each picture is being told in the emotional nature of each line and texture, whereas invariably before more was being illustrated than the artistic means were representing. Goya's trips into fantasy midway in the Capriccios freed his creativity, much as Cubism freed its artists from the restrictions that naturalism placed on the design and their most instinctive wish. Getting people off the ground got them into parts of his etchings that no one had been in before, and the variable size and contour that bat-people and witches permitted, allowed him to be more vigorously emotional in every part of his design. The Disasters of the War are the most interesting step in Goya's art, because they are his most photographic work, yet they are more emotionally terrifying than anything else he did. The photographic drawing in them is both finicky and bitter and hard; the mild, even malted-milk tones of the Capriccios is replaced with a harsher texture of dissociated lines, and his tone, which is always somewhat dull, becomes dense and extreme in its leaps between dark and light. These designs are like tightly clenched fists.

Goya mastered the technique of lithography at the age of 80, for the bullfighting pictures, and thereby stepped his pictures into voluminous, airy places where they had never been before. There is, besides love, a unique quality of relaxation in these pictures, a lyricism and a wealth of response. Goya could draw a bull out of this world, and these pictures are filled with them. They are to me richer in many ways than any other work Goya produced, and the fullness of their designs, which keep you going in them longer than in any other of this work, are the key to the great, terrible nature of the Proverbs, where everything is a perfection. Here Goya's pictorial device is at last the equal in sharpness, imagination and vigor of his long pursued appraisal of human badness.

MANNY FARBER

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War and Politics

Journey Into War: War and Diplomacy in North Africa, by John MacVane. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 330 pages. $3.

JOHN MACVANE'S is quite possibly the best report that has come out of North Africa. For MacVane, who went to North Africa as a broadcaster for NBC, is not only an excellent war correspondent with a genuinely journalistic sense for finding a good news story; he is also a keen political commentator who knows that military operations are meaningless unless they are integrated into the political objectives for which they were undertaken in the first place. But in North Africa, where "from the very beginning war and politics were inextricably mingled," military operations and political warfare were altogether uncoördinated. While American and British boys at the front and the folks at home were told that this is a war for democratic survival and the defeat of fascism, Allied political efforts, in the name of "military expediency," actually strengthened the hold of Vichyite officialdom. And what is perhaps worse, there is absolutely no factual substance in the well known official claim that without appeasing Vichy and North African Vichyites, Allied military operations might not have succeeded. Available evidence suggests that whatever help the landing Allies received came from pro-Allied de Gaullist elements, while the Vichyites were taken by surprise and changed sides only after it became obvious that the Allies had come to stay. The price of Allied collaboration with the Vichyites was general resentment among the population, especially the working class, which in fact impeded the war effort. A war, writes MacVane, "that seemed to have as its main purpose the maintenance of the Vichy administration . . . could not inspire them to patriotic effort." As the winter wore on, he continues, "it became more and more plain that only de Gaulle could achieve any kind of unity or enthusiasm in North Africa." This is precisely what happened after the successful conclusion of the campaign in Tunisia when MacVane had returned to Great Britain.

In its chapters on the politics of the North African war this is an angry book. It is the book of an honest correspondent who, like his colleagues, was up against the stupid political censorship imposed by the Vichyite clique. And in this book MacVane, who was in North Africa from the first invasion days to the end of the Tunisian campaign and whose knowledge of French politics amply qualifies him to appraise the political situation, says all the things he was not permitted to say in his broadcasts. What he has to say is one single, long footnote to what liberal public opinion in Great Britain and the United States has felt to be the case.

It is reassuring to hear, for instance, from one who was there, that Admiral Darlan's assassination was as welcome to the people of Algiers as to those of London or Washington. It is good to follow MacVane through the streets of Algiers interviewing the common man, and to find our own feelings about the mistaken State Department policy substantiated. It is good to know of the Corps Franc d'Afrique, made up of followers of General de Gaulle, with the Cross of Lorraine on their tunics, Spanish Republican refugees, Germans, Italians—"all haters of fascism"—which distinguished itself on the Tunisian front but whose

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heroism was never publicized because of its de Gaullist sympathies. And it is equally enlightening to hear of the Vichyite officer, with forty excellent French tanks under his command, who refused to undertake an easy diverting action against the Germans to relieve pressure on American infantry. These and many other instances MacVane reports, and they serve to give the lie to the official version of the farsightedness of Allied diplomacy in North Africa.

Much as he excoriates diplomats and politicians, MacVane has the warmest praise for the military conduct of the North African campaign. There is sincere enthusiasm in his chapters on the invasion itself, on British-American coöperation, on the behavior of the highest military personnel and the sacrifices and heroism of thousands of doughboys. There is genuine understanding of the difficult supply problem and the temporary debacle at the Kasserine Pass. There is authentic admiration for the superb coördination of all arms—tank, plane and infantry—in the final push in Tunisia. And in reporting what he saw in the midst of battle, MacVane never loses the over-all perspective as many other front-line reporters have done. He sees the smallest action in the light of the entire campaign. Hence his account of the crucial months in Tunisia is as easy to follow as his report of the political machinations in Algiers. Written in a smooth-running style, MacVane's book comes as close to the level of correspondents' books of the thirties as any published during the Second World War.

HEINZ H. F. EULAU

A Reader's List

PLANNING NO. 215: PEP WORK, 1940-43 (Political and Economic Planning. Available through The New Republic, 25 cents). The editors of PEP summarize their educational and research activities during the past three years. PEP was one of the first organizations in the English-speaking nations to insist on preparing for peace in time of war. Its thinking, based largely on the new social and economic ideas thrown up by depression and war, is characterized by a continuity that has been strangely missing in analogous American groups. The present broadsheet has an interesting note on research and industry in Britain; the editors decry the lack of awareness on the part of British industry of the importance of industrial research. They stress the need for governmental implementation if Britain is to take full advantage of the potentialities of a scientific civilization. An improvement in scientific training and education in the universities is called for. The broadsheet indicates also that future reports will be issued on the fuel industries, industrial relations, population and world politics.

BUSINESS RESERVES IN PRESENT TAX LAW, by E. C. Brown and J. K. Butters (National Planning Association, 25 cents). This pamphlet seeks to clarify for the layman the intricacies of the current tax-law provisions relating to postwar rebates. The statute, which is discussed here in nontechnical language, provides the business man with a cushion for anticipated postwar hardships. The authors fail to answer satisfactorily the claim that such refunds will serve to strengthen the economic position of the larger corporations. It is difficult to justify the return of tax monies after the war unless they will be used purposefully. The stimulation of employment, for example, is unquestionably preferable to a good-will advertising spree. Yet the present tax law does not make explicit the objectives of postwar refunds. It is unfortunate that the authors do not discuss these broader implications of existing tax policy.

BUSINESS RESERVES FOR POSTWAR SURVIVAL, by Mark S. Massel (National Planning Association Pamphlets Nos. 19 and 20, 50 cents). Many industrial concerns have set up reserves to see them through the postwar adjustment period, and it has often been urged that this is a wise public policy. These pamphlets are a careful and penetrating study of the problem by an economist who sees accounting not as an absolute science but merely as a relativist language, the conclusions of which depend largely on its postulates. Reserves may be helpful or otherwise, depending on the policies which lead to their accumulation and the uses to which they may be put. They have a limited function, but without a general setting of economic expansion they may become futile or actively harmful. "Strong attempts by individual companies to ensure their own security by establishing Maginot lines, which ignore the operations of the entire economy, may give them a somewhat larger share of a decidedly small total of goods and profits."

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